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AUTHOR Ianni, Francis J.; And Others
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ABSTRACT

This report documents an ethnographic study of desegregation in an inner city, polyethnic high school. The study focuses on the relationship between culture contact and the social organization of the school, employing three levels of analysis: the structural level, the level of role behavior, and the level of the individual social actor. A combination of event and network analysis is presented in the form of data, gathered by five field workers over a two year period, relating to patterns of interaction. In addition, the context of schooling is looked at in terms of the community and external bureaucracy (board of education, state and federal government agencies) to assess how they interacted with and attempted to influence the way in which the school was run. Empirical findings concerning the effect of culture contact on the social organization of the school indicate that students' friendship networks were governed by: (1) neighborhood of residence; (2) ethnicity; (3) social class; (4) status in the school organization; (5) special interests and instrumental transactions. A model of the high school's structural functions and processes of social action is also elaborated. (Author/EB)

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A FIELD STUDY OF CULTURE CONTACT
AND DESEGREGATION IN AN URBAN HIGH SCHOOL

Francis A. J. Ianni
Mercer Sullivan
Margaret Orr
Samuel Henry
John Mavros

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Horace Mann-Lincoln Institute
Teachers College, Columbia University
Francis A. J. Ianni, Director

ABSTRACT

This report documents an ethnographic study of desegregation in an inner-city, polyethnic high school. The study focuses on the relationship between culture contact and the social organization of the high school. From our findings, we have constructed a model of the social organization of the high school which we believe can be used to understand the schooling process in all urban high schools.

Our approach was concerned with three levels of analysis: the structural level, the level of role behavior, and the level of the individual social actor. As participant observers in the high school over a two year period, combining event and network analysis, five field workers gathered data relating to patterns of interaction. In addition, we examined the context of schooling. We looked at the community and external bureaucracy (i.e., Board of Education, state and federal government agencies) to assess how they interacted with and attempted to influence the way in which the school was run.

Our empirical findings concerning the effect of culture contact on the social organization of the school indicated that the students' personal friendship networks were generated by five interrelated factors: (1) neighborhood of residence; (2) ethnicity; (3) social class; (4) status in the school organization; and (5) special interests and instrumental transactions. Our findings concluded that the social universe of the student, generated by the above listed factors, has a powerful impact on the social organization of the school and the schooling process.

The model of the social organization of the high school we constructed from our findings assumes that the high school's major functions are organized into four structural domains, each of which describes an area of enculturation and a specific pattern of socialization for adults as well as children:

(1) teaching-learning structure; (2) authority-power structure; (3) peer group structure; and (4) cross group structures.

In addition, we found there to be three major processes of social action by which the four structures are operationalized in the social organization of the day-to-day life of a school. The processes comprise the patterns of behavior which channel or mold behavior and communication among individuals in the school setting; they are basic to organizing social interaction within and across all four major structures in all schools. These processes are (1) sorting; (2) territoriality; and (3) rule making and rule breaking.

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Introduction

Since early 1972, a group of anthropologists and educators with previous experience in studying educational and other social-action systems have been looking at the organization of American high schools. Our interest has been in viewing schools as social systems which operate according to an observable code of rules specific to the school rather than as analogues of other institutional settings such as business, industry, and that of the family. In the sense that we are using the term "rules" here, we are describing a control mechanism, one which regulates and regularizes relationships between the school and outside world as well as those within it. It is this code of rules which keeps the school functioning as an educating and socializing system and which structures the ordering of behavior for individuals and groups. Control systems of this sort start with values which define what is good and what is bad, what is expected and what is condemned. Ultimately, however, learning and social behaviors in the school are guided by specific conventions and rules which operationalize these values and apply them to everyday situations.

Taken as a totality, such conventions and rules form a code of behavior which individuals learn as members of the social system of the school. The code is manifest and observable in their behavior, since it defines the equation through which they perceive the objective world and make socially acceptable decisions about how to behave. Since we believe that this code

is the key to understanding how schools function as social systems, the central question in our over-all research program has been "What is the code of rules which makes the high school a social system and how do people learn to play this game?" By observing, recording, and analyzing these rules, we feel we can describe the high school as a unique socio/educational system.

In the first phase of the study (1972-1975), three teams of ethnographers studied three high schools simultaneously, using the same field methods and constantly comparing the data gathered in each of the schools. The three schools cover a rural, suburban, and inner-city urban continuum in the metropolitan New York-New Jersey area. One (Green Valley Central High School)¹, is in a small, upstate New York town drawing from a catchment area which includes several small rural townships. It has about 700 students. The second school (Sheffield High School) is in an upper-middle class New Jersey suburb of New York City, composed chiefly of single family dwellings occupied by commuting executives and their families. This school has about 600 students. Both schools have primarily white Protestant, with some Roman Catholic admixture, student and teacher populations. The third school (Sheridan High School) is located in one of the most polyethnic areas of New York City and has a student population of 4,400 divided among Hispanics, Blacks, Chinese, and a "white" grouping which, while predominantly Italian and Jewish, contains a number of other ethnic and religious groups. There are also subdivisions among each of these major groups, such as Hong Kong born as contrasted to American born or mainland China born Chinese and West Indian as contrasted to American Blacks. The teachers in this school are almost all

¹The names of all schools and individuals within schools are pseudonyms.

white. In the second phase of the study (1975-8) our fieldwork has concentrated on the urban school, looking specifically at the desegregation process in Sheridan High School. This report covers the second phase of the study dealing with desegregation in Sheridan High School.

Throughout this research, but much more directly in the desegregation study we have employed three consecutive levels of analysis, the structural level, the level of role behavior, and the level of the individual social actor operatives within the bounds of the constraints described at the two higher levels. This model was developed comparative analysis of the social organization of the three high schools. The rural and suburban schools were relatively small and Sheridan, much larger; our analysis at the structural level consisted of weighing the relative influences of two sets of factors which we labelled bureaucratic and organic structures. We identified patterns of bureaucratic and organic constraints operating in each school, and then compared the kinds and proportions of bureaucratic and organic constraints across the sites. One empirical phenomenon which we were able successfully to describe with this model was that of sorting behavior, the processes whereby people separate themselves and others into groups and categories and assign labels to these groups and categories. An example of what we call a bureaucratic influence on sorting is the case of a group of students labelled "good students" by themselves and others who associate because they are thrown together by the school's formal curriculum in a wide variety of classes and activities. Since the bureaucratic structure, the hierarchically role-structured organization as described by the formal organization charts of the three schools is essentially the same, in form if not in complexity, it is not surprising that the bureaucratically formed groups in the three schools were essentially similar. There were groups in

each school of "good students," "poor students," vocational students, and so on. The groups whose formation seemed influenced more by organic factors, in contrast, were distinctive for each school. By organic influences, we refer to those social constraints operating in a school which are rooted not in the formal organization chart of the school but in the personal relationships among members of the school population and especially in those personal relationships which can be related to the demographic characteristics of the population from which the school draws its members. In the rural school, the major organic pattern of sorting was by residence. The school serves nine different small towns, and the students from each town tended to associate. The suburban school was situated in a small, closed community with a socioeconomically homogeneous population. Consequently, the organically formed groups among students were organized on principles that were ideological (they classified themselves as "jocks" and "freaks") and not structurally based. The major patterns of organic group formation in Sheridan, we discovered, related to ethnicity.

In this study we have used a similar model for examining and describing the desegregation processes in Sheridan High School. As our purposes were not immediately comparative, however, we needed to refine that model with a more specific way of conceiving the meaning of organic patterns of association. Such a refinement, in the case of Sheridan entails a clear conception of the meaning and empirical consequences of the concept of ethnicity. In Sheridan High School specifically, the definitions of ethnicity is no easy task. There are four major ethnic groups in the school, generally recognized by everyone. They are labelled black, white, Hispanic, and Chinese. We found out in our previous fieldwork, however, that the mere placing of an

individual in one of these categories is no simple matter. Many individuals have no visible characteristics which unambiguously categorize them. The issue was further complicated by the fact that we had observed at least a dozen sub-categories identified by the students. The gross level of comparative analysis which we used to contrast sorting in Sheridan with sorting in the other two schools was clearly inadequate for a study specifically of the complex polyethnic desegregation process in Sheridan.

The field methods which we used for the study of desegregation at Sheridan are, like all research techniques, of little utility without the supportive conceptual framework which informs them. Our field methods are anthropological and within this discipline the study of ethnicity has a long and rich history. The pitfalls in dealing with ethnicity, as well as numerous others, are familiar questions to anthropologists.

It should be pointed out first that the current state of knowledge in anthropology about ethnicity includes much awareness of the problems and pitfalls in understanding the phenomenon, and only recently have new answers and methodologies for unravelling these difficulties begun to appear. The literature on "culture contact" is vast, but it is rooted in the historical debate in the discipline between groups sorted as "evolutionists" and "diffusionists," a debate that is now antiquated because it is considered unresolvable. The evolutionists--Tylor and Frazier in England and Morgan and White in this country--tried for years to establish the notion of "independent invention," a linear conception which saw each social unit evolving levels of culture in a common sequence. The diffusionists sought to prove, in contrast, that discrete units of culture, called "traits," were passed from one group to another in culture contact. By the mid 20th century, it

was becoming clear that neither of these principles was subject to empirical validation, and the modern era of anthropological thinking came into being with the advent of structural-functionalism. Henceforth, speculative reconstructions of the past were abandoned in favor of empirical, synchronic analysis of extant social units (see Ianni, 1958).

One subset of diffusionist thinking which retained considerable influence, however, was the use of the concept of acculturation for the consideration of the assimilation of immigrants in this country and of the increasingly prominent phenomenon of the impact of Western industrial society on the tribal and other non-Western societies traditionally studied by anthropologists. The acculturation model was especially important for anthropological studies of education and it figures in a large proportion of the monographs in the field of anthropology and education (Foster, 1965; Grindal, 1972; King, 1967; Ianni, 1958).

The use of the acculturation concept as an analytical model by social scientists has been paralleled by the educational policies of many colonial administrators as well as by the attitudes toward education of the ambitious, upwardly mobile members of the populations under their jurisdiction. This model is not without some fairly obvious analogy to segregation--desegregation history in America. Formal education is seen as the means of access to jobs, power, and the amenities offered by the dominant culture (Becker, 1961).

More recently, however, the rise of nationalist and other ethnically based pressure groups worldwide has shown inadequacies in the traditional acculturation model (Barth, 1969). The persistence of ethnic identification despite long periods of contact and opportunities for assimilation simply cannot be explained by this model.

Meanwhile, the structural-functionalists also began to run afoul of the concept of ethnicity as soon as they were forced by the process of world history to turn their attention away from the more isolated "traditional" societies that were the subject of their classic monographs towards societies in daily contact with the world market. Ethnicity proved little problem as long as it was considered as a Gestalt, as in the case of studies of a single tribe. When anthropologists began to study such areas as the modern African town, whose population might comprise ten or twenty tribal origins, they had to face the problems similar to those which confronted us in Sheridan. For us, these problems centered around the question: What are the important criteria for identifying ethnicity, and what are the empirical consequences of ethnicity in a polyethnic population? The model that dominated this kind of thinking for years was the concept of the plural society (Furnivall, 1944, 1948). The pluralist conception posits that inter-ethnic interaction occurs mainly within the domain of work, and that ethnic separation prevails elsewhere. The empirical validity of this conception is now seriously in question among anthropologists (Sanjek, 1975; Vincent, 1971). Inter-ethnic interaction in many domains besides work and the marketplace has been found empirically and further complicates the question of why ethnic identification persists in polyethnic situations.

The most modern and careful theoretical consideration of the questions we are asking about ethnicity is to be found in the work of the Norwegian social anthropologist, Fredrik Barth, most recently and specifically in a collection of papers he edited entitled Ethnic Groups and Boundaries (Barth, 1969). It can not be overemphasized that the conceptual framework unifying this collection of empirical studies of ethnic relations is empirically

grounded and generated, thus providing a readily operationalizable group of concepts for the description and analysis of ethnic relations. While the studies in this work are of whole social units, we feel that these concepts are also perfectly valid, indeed essential, for application to school sites in the study of desegregation.

In his "Introduction," which states the theoretical framework for the collection, Barth begins by directly posing the question of why ethnic identities are seen to persist in many parts of the world even after long periods of contact. His general thesis is that, "Ethnic distinctions do not depend on an absence of social interaction and acceptance, but are quite to the contrary often the very foundations on which embracing social systems are built. Interaction in such a social system does not lead to its liquidation through change and acculturation; cultural differences can persist despite inter-ethnic contact and interdependence" (Barth, 1969, p. 10).

Barth next poses directly one of the questions that we have asked about Sheridan: What are the operant criteria of ethnicity? He discusses the traditional notion and criterion of ethnic groups as culture-bearing units and rejects the approach to ethnicity whereby the cultural content of ethnicity is taken as the critical feature. This approach, finds Barth, begs all the critical questions about ethnicity such as why it persists along with extensive contact and the mobility of individuals across categorical lines and why ethnic identifications remain constant even when the cultural content of that identification becomes drastically reduced or modified. (Both these situations can be witnessed in Sheridan. It has already been mentioned that certain individuals have the visible diacritics to identify with more than one group or sub-group. The second situation describes the

separation that exists among the immigrant groups of Jews, Hispanics, and Chinese. Many of the more established and second-generation immigrants, among both students and faculty, have relinquished much of their original language and culture, yet they still identify themselves and are identified by others in many situations according to the same ethnic categories as do the more recent immigrants.) This is not to say that ethnic groups are not culture-bearing and can not be identified by critical culture traits but rather that content analysis of culture becomes an end in itself and does little to explain the organizational problems which are associated with ethnicity.

In view of the fact that ethnic identification persists in the face of drastic modification or reduction of cultural content, Barth posits the ascription of ethnicity, by self and others, both co-ethnics and others, as the operant criterion of ethnicity. Thus, attention becomes focused not on the content of ethnicity but on the actions of those in polyethnic situations which serve to define and maintain boundaries between groups. Barth is referring to social boundaries, in the form of rules for inter-ethnic interaction, but he mentions that physical territorial boundaries may be associated with social boundaries. It will be noted at a later point that Barth's criterion of ascription of status by self and others is very similar to our concept of sorting and the assignment of labels to self and others. Further, his criterion of boundary maintenance is similar to our notion of territoriality. We have found the concept of territoriality to be useful both in its strict geographical sense, e.g. we have found that people in schools are in competition for various physical turfs, and in the broader social sense of "life-space."

The advantage of Barth's approach is that it eliminates the need for constructing an exhaustive cultural profile of the groups under study, such a profile being difficult to research and of questionable usefulness anyway given the possible modifications of content, and concentrates attention directly on the organizational significance of ethnicity. If people say that they are such-and-such and are so accepted by others, this is the primary data useful to the social analyst and this data is also directly observable in fieldwork. The ways in which boundaries are maintained and the situations in which boundary maintenance both is and is not emphasized can also be observed and understood without extensive reference to the culture history of the groups in question.

Barth also specifies further aspects of boundary maintenance which suggest ways in which such behavior can be both conceptualized and observed. Boundaries define both the possibilities and limits of interaction across ethnic line. The rules of inter-ethnic transactions thus specify what kinds of transactions are permissible and what domains remain ethnically encapsulated. Since members of one group are not intimately familiar with the culture of the other, these rules come to be formulated on a few easily visible traits. Thus, the ethnic character of transactions between groups is dependent on a few easily visible and identifiable characteristics. We mentioned in our proposal that the rules for inter-ethnic transactions in Sheridan seem to revolve around a complex of ethnic joking behavior. Barth suggests that the other component of the rules for such transactions is "basic value orientations: the standards of morality and excellence by which performance is judged. Since belonging to an ethnic group implies

being a certain kind of person, having that basic identity, it also implies a claim to be judged, and to judge oneself, by those standards that are relevant to that identity." Notice that this implies that one is judged by members of other ethnic groups as well as by members of one's own according to the standards of one's own group. The question of how this operates in desegregation processes is one we have posed in socio-linguistic terms to ask how individuals at Sheridan "name" each other with ethnic labels and with what judgemental criteria results.

One final aspect of Barth's thoughts about ethnicity deserves attention in the study of desegregation. Surveying a wide range of empirical situations, he finds that the relations of groups in a polyethnic situation can have one or a combination of three functional orientations: (1) there may be minimal contact and the possibilities of both competition and cooperation may remain unexplored, (2) they may be in competition for resources, or (3) they may have functional complementarity in economic or other spheres, in which case a kind of symbiosis exists. In both the latter cases, the rules of interaction must be clearly codified. Also, both of the latter cases, and particularly the case of symbiosis, finally offers us the first satisfactory explanation of the persistence of ethnic identification through time and extensive contact.

In Sheridan, we have seen that different groups are in competition for physical space in the school. The question of the extent to which they are in competition for educational resources is a critical one in understanding desegregation. The question of possible symbiotic relationships among the different ethnic groups is also a question which we felt required study. Sheridan, then presented a remarkable study site in that it is poly- rather

than simply bi-ethnic. It thus offered a unique opportunity to study the patterns of competition and cooperation among multiple minorities in the same system.

Barth considers carefully the complexities of boundary maintenance, including cases in which boundaries are not emphasized, but his overall effort is to explain the persistence of ethnic distinctions. We have seen certain mixed groups of students in Sheridan who consistently underplay ethnicity. The work of Joan Vincent in a Ugandan parish (Vincent, 1968) offers an extension of Barth's framework which is very useful for handling such situations. Vincent found in Gondo that ethnicity is consistently de-emphasized, and she relates this phenomenon to other aspects of social structure such as the patterns of economic relations. She employs the terms "activation and de-activation of status" to describe the differential emphasis on ethnicity. The idea involved here is that there are several statuses into which any member of a population can be categorized, but that only some of these statuses become activated into roles played in social action. Both this concept and Barth's notion of ascription as the operant criterion of ethnicity fit readily into our overall organizational mode. Both concepts fit into our third and lowest level of analysis, that of individual strategies. By maintaining a careful distinction between both ideal types and aggregate patterns of behavior on the one hand, and the manipulations by individuals of these patterns and stereotypes on the other, one is able both to analyze the specific behavior of individuals and to generate the patterns of social constraints without reducing individuals to types or ignoring the very real patterns of behavior.

Applying this conceptual framework to the study of the desegregation

of an urban high school, and specifically to Sheridan High School in New York City, then, we maintain that the "concept" desegregation has insufficient precision meaning and consensus to serve a useful function in this study. The term has the further disadvantage of reification in terms of generally being taken to denote "racial balance", a notion which inevitably speaks to numbers rather than quality of contact and to socio-political rather than socio-cultural and educational issues. We have, therefore, deliberately chosen to frame both our study and this report in the tradition of culture contact studies so that for us, the central research question, per this study has been: "What is the process by which the social system of a high school responds to culture contact in the community and how does it operate to reinforce or amend community generated patterns or to establish school specific patterns?"

Viewed in this fashion, culture contact is a surrogate for what we believe to be the more essential qualitative questions of education in a poly-ethnic society than the more quantitatively bound understanding of the term "desegregation". An added advantage is that culture contact studies have a long tradition in ethnographic science and so this framework allows us to use a number of methods which have a traditional usage and set of conceptual parameters already associated with them. We could, for example, using the concept of social distance, develop techniques which allow us to extract those sets of signals used to ascribe ethnicity and to invoke the value system associated with ethnicity. When we operationalized this approach through socio-linguistic analysis of native terms for ethnic identifiers, we found that these signals and value sets led to a far clearer understanding of the organizational significance of ethnicity and of the processes by which

alliances are made or boundaries established. Each of the data gathering techniques and modes of analysis we used is similarly associated with specific conceptual frames from the culturecontact tradition in ethnography.

METHODOLOGY AND LITERATURE

REVIEW

Methodology

All research technologies share certain steps which are indispensable to inquiry in empirical science:

- (1) the possession of some prior picture or conceptual scheme of the world under study;
- (2) the asking of questions of the empirical world and the conversion of questions into researchable problems;
- (3) the determination of the data to be sought to supply answers to those questions and the means to be employed in getting those data;
- (4) the systematic search for the relations between the data;
- (5) a system of interpretation of the findings; and
- (6) the use of concepts to group data and establish patterns of relationships and to provide summations of the interpretation of the findings.

In the conventional logico-deductive scheme which organizes most quantitative research designs, the researcher characteristically begins with an existing theory which he uses to set up an articulated problem in advance of the inquiry. His next step is to convert the problem into dependent and independent

variables. Having done this, he then proceeds to develop strategies and instruments, attempting to control and uncover relationships between (and among) the naturally occurring variables through the design. Analytic processes are generally performed after the data are in and usually follow a pattern which was part of the original design. Once the research steps are complete, the researcher then returns to the theory to interpret his results and, hopefully, modifies that theory as a result of his new findings.

This research paradigm is useful when the researcher is already aware of the important variables in the problem he is studying. But in value-laden areas such as desegregation, there is some question as to whether the prior picture of the world from which we derive questions, frame hypotheses and identify variables is, in fact, really representative of the empirical world of practice we are proposing to improve through research. Much of the theory and many of the concepts we have adopted and adapted from the behavioral and social disciplines were first developed in the study of business or government organizations which may or may not be analogues of schooling organizations. Similarly, the meaning and function of the concepts may or may not be the same in education. Those of us who propose the use of field methods in the study of educating organizations start from the assumption that the test of the empirical world begins in the empirical world itself since operational reality exists there. Thus, field research has as its preferred style immersion in the field under study but always with a healthy and central respect for theory and methods. In field research, the emphasis, however, is on allowing the design of the research to remain somewhat flexible and subject to change throughout the work. This is principally due to an approach which sees the substance of the field as emerging rather than fixed and finite. Field researchers tend to be

methodological pragmatists, seeing each method's capabilities and limitations and learning through on-site experience which methods best obtain adequate answers to posed questions. It is this approach which gives the impression of a lack of rigor in field research. In most research, rigor is equated with fixed adherence to a rigid and pre-planned set of methods. But methods are, after all, merely instruments designed to identify and analyze the obdurate character of the empirical world and as such, their value exists only in their ability to facilitate this task. Allowing skepticism or even new data to dictate changes in fixed procedures can be a very rigorous procedure, since it is done in an attempt to be absolutely faithful to the fixed reality.

In this study, we have used a number of field research techniques which we have previously found successful in a number of education and criminal justice settings (Ianni, 1972; 1974; 1976). Each of these techniques grows out of a conceptual framework and has associated with it both a methodological rationale and a mode of analysis. Basic to our approach has been the use of two techniques which, taken together, form the major means of identifying and gathering data on the social action which results from culture contact which, as we indicated earlier, is the theoretical rationale we have taken for our approach to desegregation.

Network analysis. In 1954 J. A. Barnes wrote a paper which used the notion of "network" to help elucidate his study of class, kinship and friendship in the Norwegian community of Bremnes. Barnes described his vision of a network as follows:

Each person is, as it were, in touch with a number of other people, some of whom are directly in touch with each other and some of whom are not . . . I find it convenient to talk of a social field of this kind as a network. The image is of a net of points some of which are joined by lines. . .

The points of the images are people, or sometimes groups, and the lines indicate which people interact with one another.

This notion of "network" soon became quite popular among anthropologists, who have increasingly incorporated network analysis into their research design. "Network" has been popular because numerous anthropologists have discovered that "group," "association," and "community," anthropological terms which have been traditionally used to describe relationships among numbers of people, have failed to yield adequate insight into the phenomena that these anthropologists were trying to understand. Bott, for instance, has distinguished "network" from "group" by saying that whereas in a group "the component individuals make up a larger social whole with common aims, interdependent roles, and a distinctive subculture," in network formation, "only some, not all, of the component individuals have social relationships with one another" (Bott, 1957). Bott has shown how "network" is a more useful concept for dealing with certain aspects of the modern urban family than either "group" or "community."

Likewise, A. Mayer, and others have found the notion of "network" particularly helpful in analyzing the features of complex, as opposed to simple, societies. From his extensive study of an election in the Indian electoral district of Dewas, Mayer came away with the expectation that "social relations in simpler societies ... (are more likely)...to be those of common group membership than they are in societies where there is a greater scatter of roles" (Mayer, 1966). This observation led him to make the following suggestion.

It may well be that, as social anthropologists become more interested in complex societies, and as the simpler societies themselves become more complex, an increasing amount of work will be based on ego-centered entities such as action-sets and quasi-group entities, the identification of which arise out of the analysis of social networks rather than of groups and sub-groups.)

Barnes has described a variety of general uses for this network analysis.

The notion of network has been developed in social anthropology to analyze and describe those social processes involving links across, rather than within, group and category limits. The interpersonal links that arise out of common group membership are as much a part the total social network as are those that link persons in different groups, and an analysis of action in terms of a network should reveal, among other things, the boundaries and internal structure of groups. While there are other ways of discovering groups, the network concept is indispensable in discussing those situations where, for example, the individual is involved in "interpersonal relations which cut right across the boundaries of village, sub-caste and lineage" (Srinivas and Beteille, p166). It is appropriate when enduring groups such as parties and factions have not formed, and where individuals are continually required to make choices about whom they should look to for leadership, help, information, and guidance. It helps to identify who are leaders and who are followers or to demonstrate that there is no enduring pattern of leadership (Barnes, 1968).

Moreover, according to Barnes, network analysis is "concerned with choice in social action," with "the problems of why in a specified context a man chooses one course of action rather than another, why and when and how he selects one contact out of many possible and appeals to one principle rather than to others" (Barnes, 1968).

The specific contexts to which network analysis has been applied are both numerous and various. Among these have been political processes, social classes, the relationship of a market to its hinterland, the provision of services and the circulation of goods and information in unstructured social environments, the maintenance of values and norms by gossip, structural differences between tribal, rural, and urban societies and social deviance such as organized crime.

Critical Events. Educational researchers have used "critical incident technique (CIT)" for some time and "event analysis" is fairly commonly used by anthropologists. The differences between the two terms center on degrees of complexity and duration. Which one is used in a study is dependent upon the needs and purposes of the researcher. There are also distinctions made between "microevents" and "macroevents"; this will be explained later.

Flanagan defined incident as "any observable human activity that is sufficiently complete in itself to permit inferences and predictions to be made about the person performing the act" (Flanagan, 1954). His major purpose for using critical incident technique was to develop a statement of critical requirements for the successful performance of a job, e.g. hourly-wage employees at a Delco-Remy plant. In addition, CIT has been employed in a number of projects with differing objectives: Zucker evaluated a successfully completed Junior College English program; Corsini and Howard trained novice teachers; Campbell and Markle identified educational problems" (Zucker, 1966; Corsini and Howard, 1964).

When one is interested in studying "happenings" or "activities" on a broader scale, the term "event analysis" is used. Burnett employed event description and analysis in the microethnography of urban classrooms. She defines "event" as:

a segment with certain 'natural' or easily developed sense of integrality to it, and thus preserve(s) what Barker (1963) regards as the primary attribute of the behavior stream--its arrangement in time....An event begins with entry into a specific place by a person, or set of persons, and their engagement there in actions,

including interactions. The event ends when the person or at least one complete set of the various sets of persons engaged in behavior, changes his place....(Burnett, 1969).

Burnett notes that the type of event she describes is a "microevent," but that her unit of description can logically be linked to macroevents of the order of "a festival, a community ceremonial, a health survey or longer and more complex constellations of human behavioral processes and elements" (Burnett, 1969). Similarly, Kimball and Pearsall define "event" as a "series of micro-events" (Kimball & Pearsall 1955).

Sylvia Williams studied Cubberly High School in Palo Alto, California through a penetrating description and analysis of macroevents which occurred throughout a school year. (Williams, 1970). The formation of an SDS chapter, the publication of an underground newspaper, two student strikes, the establishment of a Black Student Union, two student deaths due to overdoses of drugs, and the refusal of tenure to an influential teacher were the incidents considered to provide insight into the operations of the high school as a political institution, a social organization and a culture.

Events may be of many types. The simplest types of events are those which are based upon a single property or characteristic of a program at a particular time or in a particular place. Thus, a planned class on race relations or a sequence in a teacher training program dealing with the formation of racial attitudes would form a single event easily located in time and place which would be available for intensive analysis. A more complex configuration of such simple events can be built up in two ways. First, the single property (presentation of classroom materials on race relations) can be observed in a number of different classes or at different times to form a

sequence of events over periods of time. Thus, we would be repeating observations over a number of different units over the period of field observation.

A second type of event analysis would result from taking a number of properties or characteristics of a program and observing them at the same time in the same place to look at relationships among them. An example of this type of event would be to observe the interaction, spatial patterns, and networks of people involved, then to describe and analyze the event as a totality. This type of event-generated observation and analysis allowed us to describe ground-level behavior, what people were actually doing rather than what they said they were doing or what they claimed ought to be done. Our methodology allowed us to distinguish actual behavior from normative behavior. From such information it was possible to deduce certain underlying properties of the school social system we were examining. Thus, much that was observed was dependent on the culture of the system and was (in the language of experimental research) the reporting of the operation of dependent variables. Following the event, however, we interviewed a sample of the members of the networks associated with each event and from these verbal reports began to identify possible dissonance between observed behavior and and participants' perceptions and the range in variation among categories of respondents. This technique is called Rashomon and has been used in a number of studies. (Lewis, 1954, and Ianni, 1974).

In addition, we developed a number of life histories of students and teachers from a variety of racial and ethnic groups to add a longitudinal dimension to the observations. Chart II, which follows, shows the relationships among these techniques.

Events were identified for sampling from a number of sources. From observation and examination of school documents, we identified program components and activities as well as program objectives which allowed us to pre-plan the identification and selection of activities within the school or program which were anticipated outcomes of that program. The second source was the initial interviews with students and staff which produced an index of planned events and cues as to possible unplanned events in time samples throughout the study. Finally, of course, unplanned events naturally occurred throughout the time we were in the school.

The advantage of this model in approaching the study of desegregation is that it is free of existing structural constraints such as "administrators," "teachers," "students," etc. and allows for the examination of transactional relationships which are not role constrained. Structural descriptions of schools give little insight into the critical factors of social organization of the school and the dynamic qualities which explain the process of desegregation. Thus, by using the field study approach we have just described, we hope to view the classroom, the school and the community milieu as interactive (not separate) levels as analysis. Previous experience in studying schools led us to hypothesize that students form action sets outside the classroom that come into play as organizers of behavior within the classroom. Similarly, students form action sets within the classroom situation which persist outside the classroom, within and outside the school. The empirical

application of this conceptualization of action-set formation to the study of desegregation involved (1) observing and recording patterns of action-set formation determined or influenced by co-ethnicity, (2) using these data as a means of describing the interactive nature of the relationship between the two (classroom, school social organization) levels of analysis and (3) attempting to factor the relationships among ethnicity and other dimensions and determinants of social action.

Our research plan was to sample sequentially throughout the year a variety of events which when considered in their totality gave a full description of the on-site operation of the program and of specific program elements. Thus, we observed and analysed leadership behavior, teaching and learning strategies, teacher-pupil learning processes and interactions, pupil-pupil transactions, teacher-teacher transactions, administrative-organizational systems processes, and parent-community influences on programs, practices and attitudes.

There were a number of specific techniques which were applied to the classroom observation level of analysis and related to the social organization of the school level. One technique was that of following a student throughout his day in the school. This involved actual attendance in his classes and, while the experiences of the student being followed were the primary foci of observation, his social interaction, patterns of approach and avoidance, and other transactional processes involving individuals of the same and of different races were also available for observation through this process.

Prolonged observation of a single class throughout one semester was also an important technique for us. One member of the research team registered as a student (with the permission of the school administration) and

took a full semester of courses as a student in the school. We feel that observing the social and behavioral dynamics of a single classroom provided the continuity of social action which sporadic or sequential observation in a number of classrooms would not have. It is, of course, this type of in-depth qualitative study which distinguishes ethnographic approaches to field study from sample-oriented survey techniques.

Analyses of Data

Since the basic research design of the fieldwork portion of this study is based upon field research techniques, data analyses were an integral part (rather than a later stage) of the constant comparative methodology. The process is one of sequential analysis of data. Such analyses took place in three stages.

(1) The selection and definition of events, concepts and indices.

Here the first stage of the analysis began in (a) seeking out those events and activities for observation which gave promise for yielding the greatest understanding of the social significance and the educational functioning of desegregation and (b) looking for items which might serve as useful indicators of the more difficult question of why such programs and practices were or are not successful. The simple analytic conclusion of this stage of sequential analysis would be that a given phenomenon exists or that two phenomena were observed to be related in one instance; the conclusion says nothing about the frequency or distribution of the observed phenomenon.

(2) The check on the frequency and distribution of phenomena. In this second stage of sequential analysis, the field team had gathered many provi-

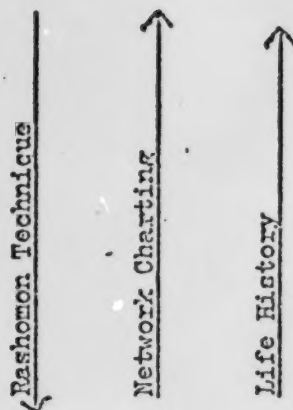
sional problems, events, concepts and indicators, and the analytic problem now became one of determining which of these was worth pursuing as major foci for study. This was done through comparative analysis of the data both during and after the field research. Thus the fieldworker determined if the events that prompted the development of these provisional indicators were typical and widespread in (a) the classroom, (b) the school and (c) the school surroundings being observed, and how these events were distributed among categories of people and organizational subunits. Then, at the conclusion of the fieldwork, desegregation processes were examined within the context of four structural domains (teaching-learning, authority-power, peer-groups and cross group structures) related to the program components and processes which emerged as most frequent and/or most promising. The analyses at this stage would then represent both a rudimentary frequency distribution and the rich holistic, descriptive analytic materials which are the essence of ethnographic reporting.

(3) The construction of models of event structures and networks defining the socio-cultural context of desegregation practices. The final stage of analysis consisted of incorporating individual findings into generalized models which were identified in step two of the sequential analysis scheme. Each of the steps to this point had been directed to this final point in which we designed descriptive models which best explain how and why the desegregation operates within the social context of (a) the classroom, (b) the school, and (c) the school's surroundings. Here we are describing a set of interrelationships among many variables in the model, using as organizing variables sorting, territoriality and rule making and rule breaking

Chart I

Event-Network Matrix (ENM)

Network of People



Event

(Event Analysis)

N (ENM) = contextual matrix of events (CM)

N (CM) Time = natural history of program

Life History

event

person's life

Rashomon

person person etc.

event life

We believe that the natural history approach we have taken to desegregation in Sheridan High School and the socio-cultural setting within which the program was implemented is a type of ethnography well suited to studying a social system (a school) in the process of planned change. Further, we believe that this ethnographic approach was appropriate because it offered an in-depth examination of (1) both planned and unplanned events, (2) observable behavior which is either congruent or incongruent with attitudes, and (3) values which were either in harmony or conflict with those implicit in the desegregation program--all of which either encourage or impede the process of change. This strategy was attentive to both a micro- and macroanalytic perspective, allowing detailed description of essential components while, at the same time, constructing a holistic view of the total system.

Part of the holistic perspective of the social organization of the school includes acknowledgement and research of the greater bureaucracy and social structure of which the school is a part. Though the school may behave like a 'closed' system, it is regulated by bureaucratic lines from the city to the federal government. In addition, the school is part of the social context of the communities and families which use the school. Therefore, just as we studied the organization within the school, we studied issues and interactions "up" and "out" from the school. Needless to say, this complicated research considerably. Thus this research was approached in two ways.

First, in our observations and interviews in the school, we kept track of other social agencies related to the school: from the family to the police department, from the welfare department to the Central Board of Education. Second, we studied "up" major policy issues affecting the school during

our period of observation. These issues crossed bureaucratic agencies as well as community and social organizations: conflicts over provision of bilingual education, struggles over decentralization, the lay-offs of teachers, problems resulting from the O.C.R. investigation of NYC schools, and so forth. Studying these issues provided insight into the intergovernmental, interbureaucratic relationships of the school. Moreover, these issues tended to be of a political nature far broader than their educational association, which was significant for our research.

In keeping with Kurt Lewin's field theory, we included only the frame of reference of those issues and agencies, "within which essential variables could be located, observed, and their interrelationships chartered" (pp. 172-3) in relation to the school. Although this theory is taken from psychology, its perspective is complementary to that of ethnography, especially in limiting the variables to be included or excluded. In this manner, the situation or event relating to the interaction, is considered as a whole, introducing the element of the existence of a "social climate" which is determined by the interface of this policy issue or agency with the organization.

Literature Review

Desegregation, as used in this study, refers to the federal policy which is based on the 1954 Brown court decision. This decision stipulated that government-enforced school segregation violated the 14th Amendment of the United States Constitution; the specifications of this policy were established through subsequent court cases. Most graphically, the major court issues defining this policy have been: (1) the speed at which a school should be desegregated (Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, 349 U. S. 294, 1955); (2) plans which can be used to achieve desegregation (Green v. County School Board of New Kent Co., and Swan v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg); (3) parts of the system or district which must be involved in any desegregation plan (Keyes v. School Dist. No. 1, Denver, Colorado); Milliken v. Bradley, 418 U. S. 717; and (4)

rules to prevent teacher discrimination during desegregation of a school system (Singleton v. Jackson Municipal Separate School District, 348 F. 2d 729). As a policy concept, however, desegregation still remains ambiguous, having properties which cannot be measured. Characteristically, the federal policy of desegregation is focused on the school and school system, particularly their inter/intra-organizations and specifically the placement of students.

Over the years, since the first major court decision of 1954 (Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka 347 U. S. 483) research has attempted to evaluate desegregation situations by examining the problems that are caused by desegregating schools. According to the law, it is within the school that desegregation should take place, with a goal of providing equal educational opportunity in the context of the schooling process.

Since desegregation functions through reorganization of the formal structure of the school, one question in our research was to see how the reorganization of that structure was affected by or was incorporated into the social structure of the high school and the schooling process. Thus we looked into the literature on the properties of the organization, the properties of the ethnic groups involved (both student and faculty), their history of interactions within the organization, and the state of the social relations within the school. We then attempted to relate all of these to the properties to culture contact as a new framework for the study of desegregation.

The School as an Organization

We began by looking at what is known about organizations that could be useful to our analyses. According to Stinchcombe, an organization is a "set of social relations deliberately created, with the explicit intention of continuously accomplishing some specific goals or purposes" (Stinchcombe, p. 142.) With this definition Stinchcombe indicates the importance of goals for an organization as well as the relationship of people to achieve these goals. In fact, Parsons holds that the defining characteristic of a complex organization is the "primacy of orientation to the attainment of a specific goal." (Katz, p. 432)

There is, of course, more to organizational complexities than their goal. In fact, the complexity of an organization has been studied from (1) its form of group behavior (Weick, 1969), (2) as a complex organization (Perrow, 1972), (3) as a bureaucracy (Downs, 1967, Merton, 1968) or generally (4), as a social system. Our interest in culture contact led us to focus on social systems and interactions within them. An organization, as a social system, can be defined by four basic problems which Parsons suggest exist and must be solved by the social systems to continue their existence (implying that survival is a necessary characteristic). They are: adaptation, goal attainment, integration, and pattern-maintenance and tension management (Larson, 1973, p. 134.

Organizations are also studied in terms of their components -- broken down into subunits, roles and relationships, as well as in terms of the whole. For instance, an organization, theoretically, is made up of a formal and an informal system. According to Downs

(1967) the formal structure stresses the official role and the rules of that role, rather than the individual of that particular role. Research on formal organizations has its historical roots in Weber's definition of a bureaucracy as: (1) a rational organization; (2) composed of members chosen on merit to perform tasks; (3) who are hierarchically arranged to accomplish these tasks; (4) and which is governed by a system of rules which specify the responsibilities and duties for each position (Katz, p. 428-9).

Weber's work, and that of his followers, has largely neglected the "informal" patterns of social relations as an aspect in his typology of an organization. This organizational pattern has been studied time and again, beginning with the Western Electric studies of Hawthorne, Mayo, Reothlisberger, and others, which, as Katz described, "leave no doubt that informal behavior is often patterned and socially organized, not merely idiosyncratic individual deviation." (Katz, p. 434.) What is of debate is the role this organizational trait plays in the accomplishment of the organization's goals. Downs, on the one hand, sees informal patterns arising as people try to establish some personal significance and power of their own. According to Blau and Scott, however, this perception is based on viewing the organization as an ideal type, where anything interfering with the efficiency of the organization would be detrimental. They suggest that the opposite relationship could be true, that informal patterns can contribute to the organization's efficiency.

Gouldner views this debate as dichotomizing the approach to studying organizations, focusing on two models of organizations: the rational model and the "natural systems" (or informal organizational) model. Gouldner criticizes the ambiguity of the concept of an "informal organization" arguing that while it directs attention away from the formal system, "there remains a question concerning what it is that the model directs attention towards." (p. 131, Gouldner) The result is viewing the informal organization in terms of a "cafeteria concept of diverse and sprawling contents." Instead of comparing the differences of these two models of organization, Gouldner focuses on the problems or "tensions" of organizations which derive in part from the interaction of (1) the distinctive traits of the organization as a rational system of administration and (2) the more common needs of the organization as a spontaneously developed social system.

Among the various organizational tensions identified by Gouldner, the one that exists between "bureaucratic rationality" and "social system imperatives" is most applicable to our research. Gouldner compares this tension to centrifugal and centripetal pressures which shape the organizational structure, "limiting as well as imposing control over parts, separating as well as joining them." (Gouldner, p. 149). Etzioni, however, qualifies the interdependency of these facets for organization:

"All organizations endeavor to enforce standards of performance and norms of behavior, but organizations differ markedly in the pervasiveness of the standards and norms they attempt to set and enforce." (Etzioni, 1965, p. 669)

Enforcement of standards of performance depends, therefore, on the clarity and on the acceptance of the goal(s) of the organization, which, for schools, have always been in ambiguous terms, for, as Bidwell points out, educational outcomes are highly indeterminate. (Bidwell, p. 1016-7)

Like Gouldner, Litwak discusses the need to develop a model of bureaucracies which integrate these two models of organization/bureaucracy. Litwak's model takes into consideration both the central characteristics and the conflicting characteristics of the two models. He includes organizational features, which he terms "mechanisms of segregation," that function to co-ordinate potentially contradictory social relations toward some common organizational goals.

How can these features be applied to schools? Bidwell offers a description of the school in formal organizational terms, defining it as a client-serving organization, whose goal is to prepare its students for adult status through training them in the knowledge and skills and by indoctrinating them in the moral orientation. A school is bureaucratic in that it: 1) has a division of labor, 2) has a hierarchical ordering of offices with regularized lines

of communication, and 3) specifies both the aims and the modes of official action. Bidwell assumes, however, that the

"functioning of school systems can be understood only as an outcome of complex interactions between structural arrangements (degree of bureaucratizations) the attitudes and orientations of staff (degree of professionalization) and board members (fiduciary or managerial) and recruitment to organizational roles." (Bidwell, p. 980)

This is an economic model-like perspective of schools, however. For, by singling out the outcomes (which can only be measured by assuming the goals) and the formal organization, one is assuming these are the only defining aspects of a school. Yet there are other characteristics which preclude understanding schools through identifying these variables alone.

Dreeben takes another approach by discussing schools in terms of one of their characteristics: as a socialization agency. He outlines the structural aspects of this in terms of patterns of behavior. For instance, though children spend part of their day within the school, they still maintain their active membership and participation in the family. As Dreeben points out, the school varies structurally at levels depending on the school characteristics: heterogeneity of student body, school district size, teaching staff and curriculum, class size, or tracking. Grouping and movement through school affects the social relationships of students. Moreover, the socialization for students comes from the social setting as well as from the teachers. According to Dreeben, this implicitly assumes that 1) tasks, constraints, and opportunities

available vary with the structural properties of the settings,
 2) individuals who participate in them derive principles of conduct
 based on their experiences coping with those tasks, constraints
 and opportunities 3) content of the principles learned vary with
 the nature of the setting.

The school as an organization is also part of many other social
 systems: the family, the community, the cultural /ethnic groups
 of those in the school, the levels of government (local through
 federal) which supervise the school. Many of the characteristics
 which apply to understanding the school as an organization can be
 expanded to characterize the school as part of a larger organization
 or social system. The focus on this must go beyond the character-
 istics of the school as an institution without context, just as
 an individual does not disregard all his other roles (and their
 value characteristics) when enacting a particular role. Teachers
 and students do not respond only in terms of those roles particular
 to the school and the value position of these roles. How then do
 schools change, and, specifically, how do they change as a result
 of desegregation, or, as we prefer to call it, mandated culture
 contact?

It must be remembered that though the "change state" under
 study is basically structural, it has traditionally been contro-
 versial for those directly or indirectly involved. Historically,
 people have tried to change the outcomes of schooling through mani-
 pulating the organization of schools. The issue of centralization

vs. decentralization is most graphic of this. Yet, the purpose of these change efforts has not been grounded solely in educational objectives. This fact is presently of debate between various schools of thought on education. A newly developing perspective holds that much of what was progressive about Dewey's "progressive" movement has been diffused into political, economic and social reform movements which have their origins and motivations in politics rather than any any concern or program for better education; Diane Ravitch, for example, sees "reformist" movements such as school decentralization and busing as politically expedient but educationally debilitating programs. Moreover, all of the new awareness of the importance of accountability and of the maintenance of educational standards grew out of this new sense of urgency of making schools "responsible" as well as "relevant".

This can be applied to desegregation, where the social responsiveness that was (and still is) at issue is equality of opportunity. Education, as a public institution, becomes a battle ground for much greater societal issues. Therefore, the form in which tensions resulting from these factors is handled or channeled is important. According to Katz and Kahn, the value traditions of individuals within an organization play a major role in the organization's ability to change:

"the basic hypothesis is that organizations and other social structures are open systems which attain stability through their authority structures, reward mechanisms, and value systems, and which are changed primarily from

without by means of some significant change in input. Some organizations less open than most, may resist new inputs indefinitely and may perish rather than change." (Katz and Kahn, p. 448)

Structural changes mean new role prescriptions, new roles, and the need of getting people to learn and to accept their new roles. (Katz and Kahn, p. 92-3) Therefore, when desegregation affects structural adjustments, corresponding role changes and adaptation will be necessary.

Others have also identified the role of value traditions in resisting changes. Kurt Lewin suggested that it is the organization's "social habit" which exerts some type of inner resistance to change, based partially in the values of the group or organization. (B.B.C. p. 236-7) * While Katz and Kahn translate this resistance to change in terms of tendencies toward pattern maintenance, Van den Berghe links it to the very value system (or ethos) of an organization, which he views as not only the "deepest and most important source of integration, but also the stablest element of socio-cultural systems." (p. 203, Wallace)

It follows that as the stablest element of an organization, values would be the most difficult to be changed. In fact, as Bennis, Beane and Chin found, it is not so much the type or location of change that matters, but the threat to the value positions.

No matter whether the innovation comes from top down or bottom up, in each situation the defenders are representing value positions which have been important not only to themselves but to larger groups of constituents and presumably to the maintenance of the culture itself." (p. 122)

* Bennis, Benne, and Chin, 1976

As the organization becomes complex, so do
 This does not include the individual value orientations brought
 to the organization, as is more characteristic of a school.

Change attempts have reiterated the existence of an informal
 structure of an organization. Though the values may be threatened,
 it is the individuals within an organization who create the
 resistance. As Katz and Kahn warn:

The assumption has been that, since the organization is made of individuals, we can change the organization by changing its members. This is not so much an illogical proposition as it is an oversimplification which neglects the interrelationship of individual behavior which need to be changed."
 (p. 391, Katz and Kahn)

So, though for bureaucratic purposes, we speak in terms of roles,
 in dealing with roles, we must think in terms of people and their
 patterns of behavior.

General studies of federal projects have assessed problems of
 implementation of policy plans. Many have touched upon a growing
 awareness of the problems involved in changing schools (Rivlin,
 1975; 1976) and can add to an understanding of policy complications
 for successful implementation of desegregation within schools.
 Rivlin's conclusions from the study of 'planned variations in
 education' are useful. She identified factors contributing to
 the failure of change, beginning with the ambiguity of goals,
 extending this to the characteristics of the process and of the
 program's implementation or non-implementation. Other problems
 include the fluidity of the "research climate" and the need for

long term observation in order for the "change" to become normative before assessing it. School specific problems often identified the teachers as a resistance, for they resented being required to change both their behavior and their attitudes. These results support the theoretical indications, which as stated previously, point to the importance of goals, the "social habit" resisting change, the tendency toward pattern-maintenance, and so forth.

Institutional Change: Effects of Desegregation on Students

While organizational and change literature has very readily identified those factors impeding change, this knowledge has not always been integrated with research of the effects of desegregation. Instead of orienting a focus to the process of desegregation, as a type of institutional change, most research designed to examine classroom effects of desegregation has been focused on the outcomes of the products.

In a recent review of research on the classroom effects of desegregation for students (Rodey Riffel, et al.) we found that this literature fell into four categories, focusing on: a) changes in achievement test scores, b) the psychological factors of self-esteem, anxiety, and control of the environment, c) social interaction: student-student, or teacher-student, or d) a case study approach to examining schools or districts in their attempts to desegregate. An additional body of literature consists of those articles which attempted to analyze the pros and cons of desegregation, either generally or theoretically, as related to students. Studies of academic achievement, a schooling output most often measured,

ranged from first year analyses of recently desegregated schools to major nation-wide studies, as James Coleman's Educational Opportunity Survey of 1965.

We found that statistical studies did not include consideration of the process of desegregation unless it was to control for possible intervening variables contributing to the outcome. Moreover, they demonstrated the confusion surrounding the concept of desegregation. As the policy of desegregation is ambiguous and nebulous, analysts have tried to measure its structural effects in order to evaluate this policy. This has led to a debate of whether desegregation is harmful as measured by conflict, lowered achievement or reading score rather than evaluating the process by which desegregation takes place.

In the past few years, some attempts have been made to link process outcome evaluations to a reexamination of the process. An example is the research examining the relationship between student unrest and desegregated schools (Siggers, 1971 ; Southern Educational Foundation, 1972; Yudof, 1975). The Southern Educational Foundation study of forty-three southern cities found that many southern schools operated under shockingly inadequate desegregation plans, with many schools manipulating ability grouping in order to resegregate students within the schools. From their study, the Foundation concluded that the student unrest was symptomatic of the racism and the injustice found in many school districts of the south. Much of the student conflict was a result of racial

hostility with some indication that the school administrations were either unwilling or unable to help resolve the basic problems responsible for such friction.

Increasingly, it became apparent that the administration can block, undermine or promote the success of a desegregation plan. In analyzing a desegregated school, much of the burden of success of the program should not be measured solely by the achievement test results of its students. The administration represents one of the central roles influencing the possible ramifications of desegregating a school. Test score results could only be reflective of underlying problems, at the most. Identification of the importance of the administration in policy implementation has led to a discovery of more subtle factors, such as a 'hidden curriculum' (Yudof, 1975) that serves as a means of retarding the implementation of a desegregated school's policy.

Yudof, in a more critical analysis of the problem of student unrest, maintained that unequal results in comparing black and white students, by test scores, dropout rates, expulsion rates and so forth, are not simply a reflection of unfair rules or racism on the part of the administration. For him, the problem lies deeper in the socialization process inherent in our schools, which includes specific codes of behavior that are often inconsistent with that known or permitted of the black students. This is the 'hidden curriculum' that can serve as an arbitrary mechanism for segregation. To resolve this involved problem, Yudof recommends a structural reform of schools. For a policy maker, this perspective provides insight into the crux of the desegregation dilemma: the social relations, which

require more sensitive research methodologies to discover how they operate.

Conflicts over the conclusions drawn by various researchers has not been unusual, especially when these conclusions are used to recommend new policy. One issue is that over busing, which resulted from a review of busing studies by David Armor (1972). Armor concluded that desegregation did not affect achievement levels of blacks. Moreover, he felt this type of integration failed to support the theory that desegregation would reduce racial stereotypes, increase tolerance or improve race relations and that another method should be used. Pettigrew soundly criticized both Armor's methodology and his premise for his conclusions. Pettigrew pointed out that desegregation is not a technical matter, and less so, an intervention to be judged by how well black children manage to adapt. This criticism attempts to refocus what the definition of desegregation, away from the difficulties which may arise as a result of it.

An even greater controversy arose over the study of James Coleman (Equality of Educational Opportunity, 1966) done for the U. S. Office of Education, and the follow-up study by Christopher Jencks. Both reports attempted to assess, on a national level, the quality of education and to identify those variables relating to the quality of education. Though both reports were soundly criticized for their methodologies, as well as their conclusions, they did change the perception of viewing the school as an agency of social change. The outcomes, the controversies stimulated, is a greater awareness of the difficulties of seeking social goals through education.

While Coleman examined the overall comparative quality of education

in schools in the U. S., Jencks expanded his analysis of inequality in America to all arenas: education, income, job satisfaction, and so forth. This analysis came at the peak of two social debates, one over the issue of equality of opportunity, and the other over the "war" on poverty. Both issues sought mechanisms for reform. As Jencks stated, the assumption, which combined these two issues in education, was that many people "imagined that if schools could equalize people's cognitive skills this would equalize their bargaining power as adults." Yet, as both studies proved, schools failed as the key to resolving these social problems. Economic inequality would still exist, regardless of comparative achievement test scores. Worse, however, the studies proved that no amount of school reform would affect inequality of opportunity, at least as measured in test scores, and relating cognitive ability to economic inequality.

The ramifications of these conclusions went deeper than disillusionment with schools. Beyond the debates over equality for our society (should one measure the input, output or process in schooling for equality?). it complicated the issue of desegregation and the achievement of its goals, as well as forced a reexamination of what schools should be doing and how best to be doing it.

Culture and Ethnicity for Schools

Realizing the importance of value/cultural traditions for social organization, we focused on a type most relevant to this study: ethnicity. The study of the characteristics of culture, especially the cultural characteristics of various subgroups of the United States, has been one of long debate. While we will not use our research as support for or against a particular perspective we do think it is important to understand the contributions of each perspective, and it should be realized that different perspectives do have different policy implications.

Gallimore, et al provide an overview of the debate of the various models characterizing the 'Afro-American' culture, beginning with the 'deficit' model. The deficits of the blacks were ascribed to family structure and socialization, "which in turn were attributed to racial discrimination, social injustice, and economic deprivation." (p. 18, Gallimore et al). The social policy solutions using this perspective involved enrichment or compensatory programs, such as Model Cities or HeadStart. An example of this theoretical interpretation is found in the research of Moynihan, on the family structure of lower class black families. A debate erupted over his conclusions which were 1) that the family structure of this group was very disorganized, and 2) that this disorganization was the major source of social difficulty for this group. Others have argued that these structural characteristics (greater proportion of single parent families, higher proportion of illegitimate children, for example) represent alternatives which demonstrated the strength rather than the weakness of the black family.

The argument shifted from 'deficits' to differences' when other theor-

eticians proposed that Afro-Americans were culturally different from other Americans, rather than lacking something in their background. Baratz and Baratz proposed this model in stating:

"The cultural difference model is presented as a viable alternative to the existing genetic inferiority and social pathology models, both of which share the view of the Negro as a 'sick white man'.

Cole and Bruner, in reviewing the literature supporting the cultural difference model, as contrasted to the cultural deficit model, find that the difference is merely a result of arbitrary, but equally logical ways of seeing the world.. Cultural deprivation becomes relative:

"Cultural deprivation represents a certain type of cultural difference that arises when an individual is faced with demands to perform in a manner inconsistent with his past (cultural) experience. In the present social context of the U. S., the great power of the middle class has rendered differences into deficits because middle class behavior is the yardstick of success." (p. 874, Cole and Bruner)

Inclusive in this statement is the relationship of a minority group to a majority group, expressed in terms of power.

A third model, rejecting both the deficit model and the 'difference' model as being untestable and simplistic, respectively, is proposed by Valentine. He suggests that the difference model, implying "culture" conflict, indicates that Afro-Americans are unable "to understand or practice mainstream behavior". (p. 141, Valentine). He suggests that Afro-Americans are bicultural, drawing

'upon both a distinctive repertoire of standardized Afro-American group behavior and simultaneously, patterns derived from the mainstream cultural system of Euro-American derivations." (Valentine, p. 143)

As for policy, Valentine argues that the "deficit" model and differ-

ence model are used as excuses for social problems of blacks, as in the problem of school failure (p. 146, Valentine) which is not constructive for improving upon these problems or for suggesting solutions.

Most of these models were part of an argument over the existence of a culture of poverty. Here we find yet another posited perspective; instead of supporting one of the other three models, Rodman suggests a four-part model to explain the social behavioral choices made by lower-class individuals. He qualifies, even this four-part model, by suggesting that the categories of his model ignore the complexity of the response patterns, which indicate when an adaptive response becomes a value, or when a waning value is no longer a value:

- response 1: middle class values (here lower class individuals share middle class values)
- response 2: lower class values (lower class individuals have their own set of values)
- response 3: value stretch: (sharing middle class values, as well as developing alternatives)
- response 4: pragmatism (values are abandoned in one area, and the individual acts in light of the circumstances)

(p. 193, Rodman)

Part of the decision involved in choicing any of the four alternatives, Rodman points out, are in light of the fact that lower class individuals are in the process of adapting to a dominant value system under deprived circumstances. Variations in choices made do not depend entirely on circumstance, for individual ability as well as cultural tradition can be determining factors. In fact, Rodman suggests that the strength and orientations of some cultural traditions can be influential in terms of individual

behavior". Perhaps that is why Jewish, Greek, Armenian, Maltese, Chinese and Japanese immigrants to the Americas have been so mobile and have moved so quickly out of the lower class. Perhaps that is one reason why Negroes in the Americas whose cultural traditions

were largely destroyed during the days of slavery--so often manifest the lower-class characteristics in archetypal form.

(p. 197, Rodman)

Reexamining the theoretical frameworks of the question of a cultural identity or ethnicity has not been limited to an examination of the lower classes or the Negro American. The problem is two-fold, however, for it includes the existence of minority groups relative to a majority culture.

The most modern and careful theoretical consideration of the question of ethnicity can be found in the work of Frederick Barth, social anthropologist. In his introduction to a collection of articles, Ethnic Groups and Boundaries, he answers several theoretical questions concerning the concept of ethnic/cultural groups, not the least important being a definition of ethnicity. He moves the definitional emphasis for ethnicity to the bounds maintained between ethnic groups rather than focusing on the context of ethnicity. This refers to social boundaries, in the form of interethnic interaction, though it can include physical boundaries associated with social ascription of ethnicity, by self and others, which is an operant criterion of ethnicity.

The boundaries imply an identification of fellow members through a shared criterion of evaluation and an identification of others, members of other ethnic groups, through differences in criteria for judgement of value and performance, of shared understanding. Finally, the boundaries allow

for the establishment of rules governing interethnic interaction.

Barth offers some enlightenment to the issue of to what extent circumstances dictate behavior and to what extent value traditions prevail:

Different circumstances obviously favour different performances. Since ethnic identity is associated with a culturally specific set of values standards, it follows that there are circumstances where such an identity can be moderately successfully realized, and limited beyond which such success is precluded." (p. 25, Barth)

Yet he is careful to describe the limits to which circumstances can be deterministic:

Economic feasibility and fitness in relation to the natural environment, matter only in so far as they set a limit in terms of sheer physical survival, which is rarely approached by ethnic groups. What matters is how well the others, with whom one interacts and to whom one is compared, manage to perform, and what alternatives identities and sets of standards are available to the individual. (p. 25, Barth)

Thus, the boundaries, and the overservance of the meaning of maintaining the boundaries, are far more significant in determining behavior. In applying this concept to our specific school population, which is composed of various minority groups, we must observe what limitations exist due to the minority group/majority group structure and constraints. Again, we turn to Barth to explain. Minority group situations hinge on the organization of activities and interactions, which are determined to a large part by the majority group. Though each group may have its own social structure, "prized goals are outside the field organized by the minority's culture and categories." (p. 31, Barth) All interaction takes place entirely within the framework of majority group's institutions and social structures," where identity as a minority member gives no basis for action though it

may in varying degrees represent a disability in assuming the operative statuses " (p. 31-2, Barth).

Thus, we find it useful to look to the boundaries where cultural contact takes place. Researchers of the problems of Hawaiian-American high school students, Gallimore, et al, chose to focus on the interface of cultures, for it is the point of conflict between majority and minority cultures. In their study, this took place in the classroom, which was dominated by the majority group. Their research model couples cultural analysis, which reveals culture-specific traits, with interface analysis. In this manner they tried to identify which specific behaviors and situations were involved in the school problems of the children and how they were culturally linked both to the students and to the teachers' behaviors and expectations.

Rationale for Report Format

In the opening chapters, we have described the process by which we gave theoretical and methodological operationalization to the problem of studying desegregation at the school and classroom level. In the following chapters, we present the results of the research that was so designed. The substantive material is organized into four sections: (1) History (Chapter II); (2) Neighborhoods (Chapter III); (3) Organization and Administration (Chapter IV), Curriculum (Chapter VII), Teaching (Chapter VIII) and Days In The Lives of Students (Chapter IX); and (4) Sociolinguistics (Chapter X). These chapters are then followed by our conclusions and recommendations. Our reason for choosing this format of presentation are directly related to the theoretical and methodological problems that we have just discussed and demand some comment here.

We conceived our primary research objective to be the description of the character and distribution of ethnic boundaries based on our direct observation of everyday behavior. Thus, the narrative accounts of the days in the lives of the principal and eight students forms the heart of our report and the crux of our findings. In order to choose, interpret, and analyze these narrative accounts, we had to select from the thousands of pages of recorded observations that constitute our field notes and to abstract from that wealth of detail the recurring patterns of behavior. To accomplish this task, we found that we had to look beyond the immediate arena of the school as experienced by students, because that arena of observation is structured and conditioned by the past, by the processes at work in the surrounding community

and by the adults who administer and teach in this school.

Our own research process over the years actually led us out from the school in this fashion. We identified rather early on certain gross patterns of behavior. In order to understand that behavior and to further refine our research, we had to find the right questions to ask. Finding those questions which were most helpful in pursuing our main question of how students associate and how their social universes come to be so constructed led us to seek out and consider the facts which we have described in the chapters on history, neighborhoods, and organization which precede the narrative accounts of everyday behavior. Thus, our own research process evolved in reverse order from the progression of the following chapters of this report.

We began by going directly into the school and recording observations of everything that we saw. Only later when we were attempting to abstract from our first round of observations in order to design more precise questions for investigation were we led to relate the interactional processes within the school to questions of historical context, community processes, and the articulation of building level administration with the higher levels of educational policy and bureaucracy. We found that the patterns of association of high school students, with special regard to the question of ethnic boundaries, are significantly influenced by all of these factors and must be interpreted in this total context. This tracing of our interactional data out into the community, backwards through the historical development of institutional forms, and upwards through the current educational bureaucracy was an inductive process, even though the results of this inductive tracing are now being presented as introductory material to provide an overall context for the interactional material which has always been the origin

and focus of our investigation.

In the introductory chapters, then, we will take the large view and examine gross patterns of social organization with respect to immigration, urbanization, urban ecology, and the development of bureaucratic forms. We will also take an overall view of the school's organizational structure and the distribution of the population from the community within that structure. The conclusions at the end of each chapter will suggest in a general way the constraints on interaction within the school that emerge from this material. Then, in the interactional material, the days in the lives of the principal and eight students, we will seek to generalize from the richness and detail of these ethnographic accounts by interpreting and comparing the specific behaviors recorded in terms of these larger patterns of behavior. Each of the individual informants selected will be characterized in terms of community status, organizational status, and interactional patterns. We will then, in our concluding chapter, seek a comparative analysis, with appropriate historical contextualization, of the particular procesual inter-relation of these statuses and interactional patterns at the time of our observation.

History of Education in the City

The following information and interpretations of the historical background are based primarily on the work of two revisionist educational historians: Michael Katz and Diane Ravitch. The sources for the more recent history are more numerous, including our own fieldwork.

Michael Katz' Class, Bureaucracy, and Schools; The Illusion of Educational Change in America investigates the emergence of the modern urban school bureaucracy in the 19th Century. His thesis about the relations of social class, bureaucracy, and the schools is clearly stated and persuasively argued: "Certain characteristics of American education today were also characteristic nearly a century ago: it is and was, universal, tax-supported, free, compulsory, bureaucratic, racist, and class-biased." Further, Katz does not find that the clustering of these characteristics, particularly of "bureaucracy" with "racism" and "class-bias" is in any sense accidental. He states, "bureaucracy came about because men confronted particular kinds of social problems with particular purposes..... through bureaucracy, the myth of equal opportunity has been fostered, while the amount of social mobility has been strictly regulated." (p. xxi)

Diane Ravitch's The Great School Wars: A History of the Public Schools as a Battleground for Social Change focuses on the periods of intense conflict in the New York City school system which have always occurred during periods of massive immigration. Ravitch finds that the schools have always been a primary arena in which the adjustment of new groups to American society has been played out. Though she owes much to the analysis of Katz

and the other radical revisionists, Ravitch also criticizes them on some accounts. She finds that the revisionists sometimes share with the architects of the school system an unjustified belief that the schools are the primary arena of social change. She also stresses throughout her account of the conflicts of culture contact in the schools that the struggles during periods of immigration are quite likely to yield consequences unforeseen by any of the parties involved. Both writers argue that the struggles in recent years over such issues as desegregation, decentralization and community control are in fact old struggles that have their antecedents and roots in the struggles that occurred in the 19th Century over the control and organization of the schools.

New York City in the early 19th Century lagged behind the New England states in establishing public education, largely because of its religious heterogeneity, in this case a variety of Protestant sects. Schooling was then closely associated with religion. The New England states were settled primarily by Calvinists who early established public education in accord with their religious beliefs. New York City's various sects offered some kinds of education to their members, but the beginning of public education in the city is to be dated from the founding of the New York Free School Society (later the New York Public School Society) in 1805. The Society was founded by the city's aristocrats to provide education for poor children not educated by the sectarian schools. Michael Katz, whose main effort is to show that bureaucracy emerged in the 19th Century out of competition with alternative organizational forms, labels this form of organization "paternalistic voluntarism." The success and growth of the Public School

Society was rapid. They soon applied to the state legislature for the authority to manage and disburse the state education funds for the city. By the 1830's and 40's, the Society had come to control almost the entire state funding for education allocated to the city. Dissent from the Society's noblesse oblige concept of education began to appear on two fronts. Middle-class parents refused to send their children, because the Society's schools were explicitly understood as charity for the poor. The seeds of the Society's demise, however, were being mainly sown by the massive immigration of Irish and also German Catholics. (The immigration created social problems of slums and crime and resultant fear of immigrants.) The schools were seen as the institution which must Americanize these newcomers. The Society itself played on these themes in justifying its new demands for "universal education." Catholics, however, despite the fact that the Society saw itself as non-sectarian, perceived the Society as an agency of Protestant propaganda, and identified the upper-class Anglo-Saxon Protestants who controlled the society with the hated English masters they had just fled. Under the vigorous leadership of Bishop Hughes, the Catholics began to demand the right to set up their own schools. As was to happen repeatedly, the local struggle for control of the schools escalated until it was thrown into the State legislature for a solution. Bishop Hughes allied himself with Governor William Seward. Seward's own election, as a Whig on the coattails of William Henry Harrison, hinged on a complicated manipulation of both the Catholic vote and the nativist" elements (anti-Catholic) which had sprung up in both the Democratic and Whig parties in response to Catholic political power. Seward managed to translate the criticisms by both the middle-class faction and the Catholics of the PSS into the political terms of anti-mono-

polism. In 1853, the schools were taken away from the Society and given over to the first publicly elected Board of Education. The Catholics defeated the paternalists, but they did not gain public funds to build their own schools. Under Hughes' leadership, they then proceeded to build their own system anyway.

Katz identifies the Catholic movement of this period with a form of organization that he calls "democratic localism" and which he cites as an organizational form in competition with both the paternalistic foluntarists and the incipient bureaucrats. The democratic localists conceived of local control of education within the emergent metropolis similar to the district type of organization characteristic of rural areas. The first school war, between the localists and the paternalists, had the unanticipated consequence of ending in the emergence of the first unified, centralized system, a system that was not yet fully bureaucratic but in the process of so becoming.

After 1842, the schools receded from public attention for a few decades. During this period, immigrant political power was organized and consolidated into Tammany Hall politics. Meanwhile, the now newly established public school system was developing a new educational interest group, the educators themselves. This was the second unanticipated outcome of the first school war but it was not to be noticed or its power appreciated until the second of two further struggles over the schools which occurred at the turn of the century.

The next two school wars were a see-saw of power between Tammany Hall and the reform movement. The first central Board of Education was still only weakly centralized and it was directly involved in electoral politics.

The seventeen wards had considerable autonomy to direct their own affairs. Each ward elected its own trustees, and the ward organizations quickly became efficient vehicles of the emerging patronage system. For the next half-century, the wards fought continually with each other and with the central Board of Education. The organization of the classroom, meanwhile, changed but little from the rote-learning pedagogy which preceded the first Board of education.

After 1870, the immigration into the city ceased to originate from England, Ireland, and Germany, and began to come from Eastern and Southern Europe. The Jewish and Italian immigrants arrived during the period of intensive industrialization. The slums of the city became even larger and the human toll of this social change more extreme. Again, fear of the immigrants became a major political issue. This time, however, the solution to "the immigrant problem" involved more than just finding ways to Americanize them, for the older immigrants had achieved political power and the assault on that power became a necessary ingredient of the "solution." Thus was born the reform movement in the 1880's and 90's. The reformers were upper-class men and women who conceived their mission as one of saving the city from the corruptions of ward politics and patronage. One of their chief targets was the schools, which were once again terribly overcrowded as a result of rapid population increases, due largely to immigration. In 1888, the Public Education Association was formed, headed by a 27 year old Columbia professor, Nicholas Murray Butler. They began vocally to criticize the schools, not only attacking the political way in which they were operated, but proposing an alternative, "progressive" vision of education, based on

the new ideas of pedagogy coming from the psychology and experimental education of the period. The reformers believed that the school should become more "child-centered" and they also stressed again, as happens whenever the schools are a political issue, that the schools were the answer to the great social problems of the time. Besides their advocacy of a new "soft" pedagogy, however, the reformers were the champions par excellence of incipient bureaucracy. Their solution to the corruption of municipal politics was to centralize and professionalize city government, just as these same people had recently centralized and bureaucratized the corporations which they controlled. The era of robber baron capitalism was beginning to give way to a more regulated state of affairs.

In 1894, the reformers were ready to challenge Tammany Hall to regain control of municipal politics. According to Ravitch, their campaign for "good government" with which they dominated the press, barely managed to conceal the class tensions that were aroused by this political struggle. The Lexow reports exposing the conditions of the schools gave impetus to their campaign, and the reform candidate, William Strong, came to power.

After the general accession of the reformers to power, the schools' critics were quick to move. The advocacy of and organization for school centralization were led by Nicholas Butler, first President of Teachers College. Butler had a brilliant career both as an academic and as a politician. He overwhelmed both the local press and the state legislature with his erudition and his presentation of himself as an educational expert. He manipulated the then ascendant reformist political networks with great skill. By 1896, despite widespread opposition among teachers, students, and parents,

including a petition bearing over 100,000 names advocating the retention of local control, Mayor Strong signed the school centralization bill into law, consolidating the school system and removing it from local control for the next 72 years.

Michael Katz ends his account at about this period. He contends that by this time the structure of the schools was set. Bureaucracy had triumphed and the essential organizational form of urban education as we know it today had come into being. The political struggles over the schools, however, were hardly over.

The political hegemony of the reformers in New York City lasted about two decades. Ironically, they were eventually undone over the same issue that had aided their accession to power, that of how to educate the masses of turn-of-the-century immigrants. Historians of the reform movement have often noted that it included a strange bundle of issues, not necessarily inherently connected. With regard to education, we have noted that the reformers stressed a new kind of pedagogy on the one hand, in which the teaching of values played an important part, and, on the other hand, they were the centralizers and bureaucratizers of educational organization. The school system of Gary, Indiana, organized by Dr. William Wirt, was a famous experiment of the era which appealed to both aspects of reformism, the ideology of social amelioration, and the business model of efficiency and professional administration.

In 1913, John Puroy Mitchel was elected mayor of New York City as an anti-Tammany coalition candidate. The principal mandate of his election was for "economy and efficiency," and the major economic problem of municipi-

pal administration was the schools. Crowding was such that students were being turned away, leading to angry demonstrations, especially among the Jews of the Lower East Side. Mitchel made a fateful visit to Gary and returned determined to try the system in New York. The Gary system created a much more elaborate school environment, including shops and all sorts of manual activities as well as more traditional academic subjects. Dr. Wirt's system was publicized in this regard as a paragon of progressive education. Another aspect of the Gary system appealed to Mayor Mitchel as well. Though initially more expensive to set up, the Gary schools were much cheaper to run since students attended on a platoon system, so that school facilities were never idle, one platoon using the shops while the other used the classrooms, then vice-versa. Mitchel saw a way to simultaneously uphold the reformist mandate for progressive education while cutting the drastically mounting costs of education resulting from the heavy immigration of the period.

In brief, Mitchel's flirtation with the Gary system put both himself and the reformers out of power as swiftly as they had arrived. Successful opposition to the Gary plan was mobilized among the voters. One of the grievances was that the system kept students inside school for a much longer period, thus making it impossible to hold after-school jobs. In addition, the scholastic achievements of the Gary schools' students began to be impugned in education journals at about this time.

The election of 1918 was fought over intertwined educational and ethnic issues. The Tammany candidate, John Hylan, attacked the Gary plan and promised new expenditures for the schools, which Mitchel had drastically

reduced during his incumbency. Mitchel's campaign brought out the "nativist" xenophobic element of reformism, appealing to the fears excited by the beginnings of World War I. Before the elections, massive demonstrations against the Gary plan swept the streets of immigrant neighborhoods. Hylan attacked Mitchel for stirring up fear of immigrants.

The schoolmen, however, had by this time become a more organized force, due partly to the very consolidation of the school system which the reformers themselves had wrought. Adamantly opposed to the Gary plan and Mitchel's reduction of expenditures, they allied with the Tammany candidate. Mitchel was ousted by a huge majority. Hylan went on to increase expenditures for education, as he had promised, but the earlier programs of the reformers, including centralization, professionalization, and new ideas of pedagogy, had become established and were not to be challenged again until the 1960's.

Six years after the reformers were ousted, in 1924, the lid was put on immigration. The 1924 immigration laws restricted further immigration to being directly proportional to the number of persons of such a place of national origin as currently reside in the United States. The problems of the schools and the political furor over education receded, as had occurred between 1850 and 1870 in the previous interim between immigration waves. The period from the twenties to the fifties was characterized by institutionalization of at least a rhetoric of "child-centered pedagogy" and by the introduction of differentiated curricula, as part of a trend that continues today of "individualizing" instruction for the particular needs of the individual student. The advent of educational psychology and psychometrics advanced and rationalized ability-grouping as a tenet of

"scientific" education. Vocational education and ability-grouping have had a controversial history of their own. They were instituted in response to criticisms that the overformalized curricula that preceded them were not providing students with skills that would be valuable in the market. Critics of vocational education in particular have also argued, from the beginning, that differentiated curricula would become a mechanism for perpetuating the occupational stratification of groups while maintaining the illusion of a meritocracy. This issue is very much alive at present.

One aspect of the period that deserves special mention because of the part that it plays in contemporary social arrangements and ideologies is the rapid social mobility of the Jewish immigrants, a mobility in which the use of the schools for advancement was crucial. That "success story" and the way it has been interpreted were key elements shaping the issues for the next set of school wars in the 50's, 60's and now continuing in the 70's. Diane Ravitch cites as her original motive for doing historical research on the schools the contention which emerged during the Ocean Hill-Bronxville struggles that the schools had worked for the Jews and were not working for recent black and Hispanic immigrants. This contention has been played on from all sides of the conflict. Her whole book is an extended demonstration of the fact that the schools have become involved in political and organizational crisis each time there has been a major wave of immigration. In this light, the educational success of the Jews seems more attributable to their own cultural heritage than to the intrinsic excellence of the schools themselves.

But let us back up a bit from the Ocean Hill-Brownsville confrontation to the post World War II years when the next wave of immigration began that was to culminate in that 1968 conflict. These migrants were not foreign nationals, but American citizens who moved into the city from the rural South of the United States and from Puerto Rico. The 1954 Supreme Court Decision (Brown v. Topeka) was formulated in response to a southern system of segregation based on juridical separation of racial groups. The decision was soon extended to Northern cities, however, where segregation of educational facilities was based not on legal separation of races but indirectly on residential segregation created by the ghetto and the tradition of the neighborhood school. Within weeks of the Supreme Court decision, Dr. Kenneth Clark, a black psychologist at CUNY who had himself attended Harlem schools, charged publicly that New York City itself maintained segregated schools which gave inferior education to Negro children. Dr. Clark's early advocacy of integration preceded the formation during the 50's and 60's of dozens of civil rights and other public interest groups, including those of integration opponents, which made vocal demands on the schools to produce either social change or stability.

The demand for integration by minority groups continued and became increasingly political throughout the 50's and early 60's. The process of desegregation, however, was hindered at every step, and segregation of minorities actually increased over this period. Two sets of reasons can be adduced to explain that fact. The first set of reasons is that the demographic ratios in the city were changing rapidly. This phenomenon has been dubbed "white flight" by James Coleman and others and has been specifically

related to the schools and the desire of white parents to avoid integrated schools. The term "middle-class flight" would be far more accurate, however, if the phenomenon of suburbanization were fully considered.

The second set of reasons for the failure of integration during the 50's and early 60's is detailed by David Rogers in his book 110 Livingston Street. The title refers to the address of the New York City Board of Education in Brooklyn and the book is an account of how the bureaucracy there systematically undermined the attempts of community groups to achieve integrated schools. Perhaps the most remarkable aspect of Rogers' account is the way in which he documents the divergence between stated policy and the actual policy of the Board. The Board declared a policy of integration very soon after the 1954 court decision. They commissioned studies, drew up policy statements, and designed various plans to achieve integration. At each step of implementation, however, they hedged. Transfer plans, open enrollment plans, building plans, all were announced and then either never implemented or were implemented in name only and to very little effect.

The Board's vacillations were conducted against a backdrop of rising political activism around the school. Community groups on both sides of the issue were learning effective political organization. White residents of Queens staged a 50% effective boycott of schools in 1959 to protest the transfer of students from Bedford-Stuyvesant. On the other side, the Reverend Milton Galamison from Brooklyn staged one highly effective boycott by black students in 1963 and one less effective boycott shortly thereafter. By the early 60's when civil rights activism was peaking nationally, New York City had already had long experience with integration struggles and

spokesmen like Kenneth Clark and organizers like Milton Galamison as well as organizations like the NAACP (National Association for the Advancement of Colored People) had established their legitimacy and the fact that they represented viable constituencies. Anti-integration leaders and groups in white neighborhoods had established the legitimacy of their own constituencies.

Throughout this period, the recognition and ascription of ethnicity was increasing. In 1957, three years after the beginning of the integration struggles, the first ethnic census of the entire school population was conducted. In 1961, the Board of Education was dissolved after the exposure of scandals with school construction money. The state legislature directed Mayor Wagner to name a new nine-member board. The new board had one black member and was evenly divided among Catholics, Protestants, and Jews. Ravitch calls this ethnic balancing "a political tradition of recent vintage."

After the 1961 scandals, the State Commissioner of Education directed a study of the schools. The Schinnerer Report, when released, recommended extensive administrative decentralization of the schools, though not the extension of political control of the schools.

In 1965, Superintendent Donovan promulgated an administrative decentralization plan which did little to pacify critics of the system. Activism, demonstrations, and boycotts proceeded through 1965, then a lull fell over the movement.

Beginning in 1966 at the famous Intermediate School 201 in Harlem, a new tactic came to replace the drive for integration. In historical per-

perspective, though, it was not new. It amounted to a resurgence of advocacy of the organizational form of democratic localism. As Bishop Hughes had demanded public money for Catholic schools, so Preston Wilcox, the leader of the I. S. 201 experiment, demanded local control for the Harlem school and advocated a reorganization of the school's curriculum to emphasize "black culture" in place of what Ravitch describes as the "assimilationism of the common school concept." One of their chief demands was for a black principal to serve as a "role model" to the students. The Board proposed Stanley Lisser, a Jew.

By the time the struggle over who was to appoint the principal of I.S. 201 had concluded, with the Board's hegemony still intact, the movement for integration had changed into a movement for local control. The demographic flux was crucial to this strategy change. In the dozen years since 1954, non-Hispanic white children had become a minority in the public school system.

As tactics from below changed and pressures for change again mounted, pressures from above also increased. In 1966, John Lindsay took office as Mayor, intimating his dissatisfaction with the education system. In 1967, the state legislature directed Lindsay to prepare a decentralization plan. In order not to entrust the planning to 110 Livingston Street itself, Lindsay brought in the Ford Foundation. Mario Fantini of the Ford Foundation had already been involved as a crucial broker in the I. S. 201 experiment. Fantini was an intellectual deeply committed to the idea of decentralization. Lindsay appointed the president of the Ford Foundation, McGeorge Bundy, fresh from the design of the Viet Nam war, to head the panel for

planning decentralization. Three demonstration districts were set up in the meantime, one around I. S. 201 in Central Harlem, one in the Two Bridges areas of lower Manhattan, and one in Ocean Hill-Brownsville in Brooklyn.

The history of one of the participating organizations in the ensuing conflagration has yet to be described. Between 1953 and 1964, the United Federation of Teachers had emerged as a well-organized and powerful union. Over 90% of its members were and are white and most of those are Jewish. The political heritage of New York City's Jews, including strong currents of socialism and anarchism, enabled the city's teachers to be in the vanguard of educational trade unionism. Albert Shanker, the union's president since 1964, has gone on to become a national figure in labor politics and a power in the AFL-CIO.

In brief, the mandate for decentralization from above became transformed by the participants in the Ocean Hill-Brownsville experimental district into a far more radical demand for community control, including full power to hire teachers and write checks. The local board tried to demonstrate its autonomy by "transferring" a group of teachers and administrators. This unilateral action, which had never been authorized in the decentralization experiment, polarized the local board and the UFT. The Board as usual was caught in the middle and vacillated. The events of the spring of 1968 and the long, bitter strike the following fall quickly took on ethnic modes of expression. Though the leaders of the Ocean Hill-Brownsville board never demanded all black and Hispanic teachers for black and Hispanic students, as they have been repeatedly charged with, other elements of the community printed anti-UFT literature that was overtly anti-Semitic and which was

was widely publicized in the local press. The local board was quick to charge racism whenever they were thwarted, however, and they did demand the right to replace "racist" teachers. Diane Ravitch attributes much of the "unrealistic" and radical expectations of the Ocean Hill-Brownsville faction to the role of Mario Fantini. She accuses him of promulgating his ideology of decentralization while seeming to promise the considerable resources of the Ford Foundation for the experiment, resources which never materialized.

The strife immediately preceded the legislative struggle over decentralization. Everyone knew that there had to be some form of decentralization. The state legislature had directed it, and had never hesitated in the past to dissolve the New York City Board of Education in times of strife. The final days before the legislative action in 1969 were a time of intense lobbying and bargaining among Lindsay, the Bundy committee, the Board, and community groups. The bill that finally passed was a comparatively weak measure. Locally elected school boards were established and given the power to choose superintendents and a small percentage of teachers in remedial programs. Otherwise the hiring procedures of the Board regulations, and even more importantly, the UFT contract, remained intact. The high schools were not included in decentralization and remained under the direct control of 110 Livingston Street. The exemption of the high schools occurred while the bill was being modified in the mayor's office and presumably represents some kind of deal between Lindsay and the Board, with whom he was never on good terms.

The State Charter Revision Commission for New York City prepared an evaluation of the early years of decentralization implementation which was

released in 1974. The study's chief criticisms were (1) that the diversity of interest groups contending over the legislation resulted in a vague bill; and (2) that the vagueness of the bill left the job of dispersing power to the central board itself, which predictably dispersed as little of its power as possible. Finally, (3) the report contends that the election of local boards in many districts involved "ethnic politics." Indeed, the phrase "ethnic politics" recurs throughout the report.

With the passage of the bill, one of the three demonstration districts became one of the new community school board districts. This area was once the Jewish ghetto during an earlier period of immigration. The Jews who remain are in general elderly and still poor. They have been replaced by Chinese, blacks and Hispanics (mostly Puerto Ricans, some Dominicans and others) although the area is still the first home of immigrants of all points of origin. The first elected board chose a Superintendent who had come out of Ocean Hill-Brownsville bringing much of the ideology of that experiment and struggle with him. This superintendent soon announced that he planned to hire black and Hispanic teachers regardless of Board or UFT regulations. At the next election, the powerful UFT political machinery went into operation, and elected a new board, despite the fact that Hispanics and blacks are a majority of the neighborhood and school population. As the Charter Commission's report puts it, "The voting population and the school population were different." The new board fired the Hispanic superintendent but he refused to leave office, saying they had no power to summarily dismiss him. The election was contested. The voting was repeated with the same results. The Hispanic superintendent eventually left, though he is still fighting.

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Other community boards, notably in Harlem, have been more successful in establishing their autonomy of the UFT and the Board. In 1975, a short teachers strike was not joined by some of the teachers in those districts. During the budget crisis, one Harlem school ordered closed by the central board simply remained open by collusion of the staff and community. The teachers refused to go to the schools to which they had been reassigned. The school was eventually allowed to remain open legitimately. This has also happened in the case of two Harlem police precincts.

In the late 1970's, the city school system is again facing major changes. The student population has shifted over the past ten years from being predominantly white to being predominantly black and Hispanic. Many students are non-native speakers of English and the schools have been mandated by the courts to provide bilingual education. In addition, the increasing reliance of middle and upper class families on private schooling has raised the poverty level of the public school student population to high proportions.

Faced with such a changing client population, the school system is also facing a budget crisis in connection with the city's going to the brink of fiscal default. The resulting layoffs, based on seniority within the system, pitted young against old and newer immigrant group members against those who preceded them. Meantime, Federal desegregation enforcement activity had finally found its way to the great Northern cities. A review of New York City had already been under way for many months when, in 1975, the Office for Civil Rights of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, using data it had long been collecting but acting in response to protests of laid-off minority teachers, found the school system in violation of Federal legislation with regard to its hiring and assignment practices.

By 1977, the system had begun to move to redress the practices sanctioned by the Office of Civil Rights. One method it used for some teachers was separate assignment procedures for minority teachers. This system proved extremely distasteful to almost everyone and became an issue in the mayoral campaign. Since his recent election to the

mayoralty, Edward Koch has vowed not only to have these procedures changed but also to have the school system politically restructured by the state legislature so that it is more directly under control of the mayor. Once again, the control and organization of the school system is a major political issue and once again much of the turmoil is centered around issues of ethnic politics.

Implications of the Historical Context for the Present

Several conclusions emerge from this historical material which have powerful implications for understanding the interactions which we recorded from our observations in Sheridan High School:

(1) For over one hundred and fifty years, the "Great School Wars" have occurred during times of massive immigration into the city. This point is the theme and the original inspiration for Diane Ravitch's work. The major struggles over the purpose, organization, and control of public education have taken place during periods when the society was receiving large numbers of people with cultural differences from those who had preceded them.

(2) These "School Wars" have always involved an upsurge in ethnic identification and ideology, whether expressed in religious, racial, or cultural terms. These processes of ethnic identification on the ideological level are translated into social action by the formation of ethnically based pressure groups, voluntary associations, and political machines which have often been the driving force of politics in this area, especially during periods of massive population change. Conversely, the historical periods between waves of immigration have seen

a decline in polarization of ethnic groups. During periods of immigration, however, the schools have often been the first social institutions affected as well as the focus of many of the political struggles.

(3) The very organizational form of the educational system has resulted in part from these struggles. The first unified public system was created in response to Catholic demands for public funds for Catholic schools. The most sweeping organizational change in recent years, decentralization, came about during the desegregation and civil rights struggles of the 1960's. The extreme political sensitivity of struggles over the schools has led to a pattern whereby solutions and decisions have been moved above the local level. In the past, municipal problems of this kind were often resolved at the state level. In the current era, Federal intervention is assuming increasing importance.

(4) A recurrent unanticipated consequence of the organizational development first of the school system itself and then of the professional unions within the system has been the emergence of school people as an interest group themselves, often divided internally but also able to assert their interests in opposition both to governmental agencies and to the community which the school serves.

(5) Finally, we see that the absorption of new groups into society has now happened severaltimes and must be described as a process of ethnic succession. Those who are now established were once themselves labeled as members of immigrant groups. Many stages of the immigration process, everything from recent arrival to generations of assimilation, is represented among the current population. Although every era faces new problems, certain paths of advancement and succession have been

sanctioned by History. Newcomers both expect and are expected to establish themselves in ways similar to those that their predecessors employed. These ways include political organization, residential organization, entry into the labor market, and use of the public schools for the advancement of their children. This tradition of ethnic succession sets the desegregation struggles of New York City off from the situation in the South in important ways. Whereas the Southern situation is one in which only two groups have resided near each other in conditions of inequality over a much longer period of time in much greater isolation from the rest of the world, the New York situation has often seen the arrival of new groups and their advancement over time.

HISTORY OF NEW YORK CITY EDUCATION

Year	Immigration	Education	Ethnic Politics
1805		Free School Society (Charitable)	
1830's	Irish and German Catholics	Society receives increa- sing public funds	
1840's			Bishop Hughes demands state funds for Catholic schools
1853		First publicly-elected Board of Education	
1850's and 1860's	lull in immigration	Development of ward politics	in school and city governance
1870's	Southern and Eastern Europeans		
1880's 1890's		1888 - Public Education Association founded	Reform movement: upper classes attack corruption of immigrant political machines
1894			William Strong elected reform mayor
1896		Mayor Strong signs school centralization bill Beginning of modern form of school bureaucracy and of modern notions of pedagogy	
1918		Mayor Mitchel tries to cut school expenses. Hylan's election, aided by school lobby increases expenditures	Hylan/Mitchel mayoral campaign nativist versus immigrant issues Hylan elected, reformers ousted
1924	Lid put on immigration from foreign countries	Development of modern pedagogy, psychometrics, progressive, vocational education	
1930's			
late 1940's	More southern blacks Puerto Ricans and other Hispanics		
1950's		First desegregation plan	
1955		Teachers organize union	

Neighborhoods

Although our research mandate was to study a school and not an entire community, the inductive research process itself in this case led us to investigate certain aspects of the ecology and social organization of the neighborhoods which the school serves. Our primary interest in the personal networks of high school students led us to observe the importance of ties from the neighborhood, although we also knew that in-school factors played an equally important role. The at-first bewildering variety of social identities, as reflected in our collection of ethnic ascriptions, began to make sense when we tried to understand these categorizations in terms of the processes occurring in the neighborhoods.

Our information on the neighborhoods has been gathered from census tracts, planning studies of the neighborhoods, and newspaper articles, as well as through personal examination and conversations with informants living in these neighborhoods.

Sheridan High School draws its student population from several distinct and widely dispersed neighborhoods of Manhattan. Understanding Sheridan as a social system requires describing these neighborhoods and situating them as parts of the vast whole that is the New York Metropolitan Area. The patterns of interaction inside the school cannot be understood apart from the patterns of interaction in the larger community.

To begin with, we must stress that the ultimate social and geographical unit in which our observation of Sheridan must be placed is the New York

Metropolitan Area. This assertion rests on the definition of the community as "that unit which contains all the roles necessary for the perpetuation of the culture." (Arensberg and Kimball, 1965) This scientific definition of "community" obviously differs from common usages of the word which stress the community as a place and in the controversial issue of "community control." In both these cases the units cited are but parts of a functionally integrated whole. These smaller units we will refer to as "ethnic groups" and "neighborhoods" in order to avoid confusion.

Following Arensberg, we will treat culture as being directly related to the form of the community. In order to analyze a culture we must make some inventory of the roles that exist in the community and how they are interrelated. Thus, the dormitory suburb and the dormitory neighborhood do not constitute complete communities because the work roles of the inhabitants are performed elsewhere. The culture of the inhabitants includes all of their social roles and not just their domestic ones.

This operationalization of the culture concept, in terms of roles performed, rather than merely in terms of some assumed and often hard to locate shared values and psychological world-views, enables us to avoid mystifying refications such as "culture of poverty" and questions about whether black Americans really have a separate culture, or sub-culture. Instead of debating these issues theoretically and trying to demonstrate contending propositions with aggregate social statistics which may err if they are used to assume the processes which they do not reflect, we are led to an empirical examination of the form of the community and the patterns of social relations of its members which arise in the daily regularities of their interactions.

Thus, the social construction of any particular group or individual identity cannot be analyzed in isolation. To understand the meaning of the ethnic identify of Puerto Ricans in New York City, one must examine the other ethnic

identities which are found in the city. Notice also that in this case, one must go beyond even the bounds of the Metropolitan area to include the place of origin of immigrant groups and the social roles which exist there and may have been transplanted and/or modified for the new community.

In this section, therefore, we will make an account of where the population of Sheridan High School live and enact their domestic roles where they came from, and where they and their parents work and enact the other roles of their lives. In addition we will relate these roles to the other roles which exist in the Metropolitan community in order to assess the meaning of these roles in relation to what they are not: for example, the meaning of being a public school student must be understood in terms of which people are public school students and which are private or parochial students or go to no school whatever. The meaning of being a resident of Manhattan must be understood in relation to that of being a resident of Queens, etc. In this way the parts can be put in perspective by being related to a unit that makes sense as some kind of self-sufficient socio-cultural whole. Then the sub-cultural variations of behavior and the interactions across sub-cultural boundaries will appear not merely as random but as part of something that does in fact function more or less systematically from day to day. Interactions in the school will then appear as a distinctive but not unrelated part of the larger system of interactions which is the community.

Manhattan

Since Sheridan High School is located in Manhattan and almost all of its students (if not the teachers) reside in Manhattan neighborhoods, let us begin with this question of what it means to live in Manhattan as opposed to the other boroughs of the city. We shall first examine the island as a whole and then focus on the particular neighborhoods which Sheridan serves.

New York City as a whole draws to it some of the richest and most powerful and some of the most wretched and oppressed people in the world. The borough of Mahnattan as a place of residence contains a heavy proportion of these two extremes, often living in close proximity to one another. The overwhelming ecological constraint on life in Manhattan is the island's sheer density of population and development. In the outer boroughs, particularly Queens, one may find orderly rows of single-family dwellings inhabited by people of similar social class and often of similar ethnic background as well. In many of these outlying neighborhoods, the presence of an "outsider" to the neighborhood may be quickly recognized and sanctioned. A black person, for example, walking casually down the street in some neighborhoods will cause heads to turn- Indeed, as some upwardly mobile blacks move out of the inner city, overtly racist reprisals to their buying houses in these neighborhoods are reported in the news media.

In Manhattan, by contrast, the density of apartment dwellings, and the crazy-quilt of land values that results from speculation on some of the most valuable land in the world, produce a much different situation. The dwellings of the very rich, the very poor and of the embattled middle class of many cultural backgrounds may be located within a few blocks of each other. The different classes and social groupings may not mix in schools, social clubs, even stores and restaurants, but they all share the same streets, or at least some of the same streets, for some of the same purposes. Under these circumstances, the kind of ethnically and socio-economically homogenous areal blocks that one may find in Queens or Staten Island are few. Indeed, large parts of Manhattan must be classified as "zones of transition" which are so fragmented in their design and multiple functions that it is difficult to conceive of them as "neighborhoods" at all. Yet we know by now in urban studies that closer scrutiny of these

urban areas that seem so anarchic and anomic at first glance will reveal principles of order which organize these fragmented areas into socially meaningful and usable patterns. In areas of such high density, every minute bit of space is subjected to social classification and control by all those who pass through the space. The rules for the use of space are complicated but well understood by those whose lives they structure. (Suttles, 1968; Michelson, 1970). City residents and regular workers or visitors know which streets they may use and at what times and how to protect themselves in their daily rounds from home to work to recreation and shopping and visiting, wherever they may go.

Basically, in Manhattan, one may distinguish two general types of "defended neighborhoods" (Suttles, 1968), one for the working class and poor and another for the middle and upper classes. The former group personalize and protect the areas where they live by the simple device of staying in the street much of the time. Thus, they can regulate a defensible ecological niche, such as a street block between two broad avenues, by knowing who is supposed to be there at various times of day and year. The street corner youth gang often provides this function in lieu of adequate and regular police protection.

The middle and upper classes of Manhattan, however, do not socialize in the street. An ecological niche inhabited by members of these classes will not normally be filled with anyone "hanging out" except perhaps for children or teenagers at certain times of day. If the middle class teenagers sometimes hang out on the corner, however, they do not perform the same functions of protection that their age-mates in poorer areas do. The protection of the more expensive residential blocks in Manhattan is increasingly the professional responsibility of private security guards who are paid by the "block associations." Thus, neither rich nor poor in Manhattan can rely on the public police force for day-to-day surveillance of their

immediate residential areas, but the poorer blocks solve this problem in one way and the more affluent take another course. Many of the citizens who pay for private security services also refuse to rely on the public schools and send their children to either private or parochial schools.

There are two large areas of Manhattan that are occupied by enormous skyscrapers. One is at the very lower end of the island and contains the financial district, the courts, and other business and government buildings. The other runs from just above Greenwich Village to the lower end of Central Park. Here, in Midtown, are located the headquarters of giant corporations and the glamorous retail and commercial districts. While millions of people work in these areas during the day, virtually none lives there. On the East Side of Central Park are located the most expensive residential areas. The West Side of the Park is one of the most ethnically and socioeconomically diverse areas of the city.

Sheridan High School is located between the two concentrations of skyscrapers in the general area known as the Lower East Side. Ecologically, the old low-rise buildings of the area present a striking contrast to skyscraper areas that bound it to north and south. The school draws its student population largely from the Lower East Side but it also draws part of its student body from Harlem, the area above Central Park. The students from the Lower East Side often walk to school. The "uptown students" (inside the school, this expression is usually a synonym for "black" since these students come from the predominantly black and not the Hispanic areas of Harlem) ride the subway downtown to school.

When the New York City schools were decentralized in 1969, only the elementary and junior high schools were placed under the control of local community school boards. The high schools were left under direct control

of the central Board of Education. As a result, New York City high schools are not really "neighborhood" schools and can and often do draw their students from widely dispersed areas of the city.

The Lower East Side and Central Harlem are similar in several respect but different in other crucial respects. Both neighborhoods are primarily residential and their building stock is chiefly composed of aging, deteriorated tenements and new high-rise public housing. The populations of the two neighborhoods also occupy similar niches in the metropolitan also occupy similar niches in the metropolitan economy. A large proportion of these households receive some form of public assistance. The working segments of the population are less than 10% professional, technical, and managerial and are dominated by unskilled and semi-skilled workers.

If the housing and employment profiles of Central Harlem and the Lower East Side are roughly similar, however, the cultural background of their populations varies greatly. Central Harlem's population is about 95% composed of American blacks. That population is relatively stable, over the past twenty years. The Lower East Side, on the other hand, is characterized by great ethnic diversity due to rapid population turnover in the past twenty years. Other differences between the two areas include the better transportation facilities to and from Central Harlem and the larger proportion of manufacturing jobs and businesses serving non-local residents on the Lower East Side. The most striking difference between the two neighborhoods, however, remains the contrast between the more stable one-group population of Central Harlem and the flux and plurality of groups on the Lower East Side. The segregation of the lower class Chinese within Chinatown as both a place of residence and place of work is, however, quite marked within the Lower East Side.

In the following pages, we will expand these descriptions of the two areas. First, we will look more closely at the Lower East Side as a whole. Then, we will look at the separate ethnic groups and their spatial, political, and social alignments. Then we will return to a closer look at Central Harlem and a recapitulation of the comparison of the two areas.

The Lower East Side

This area is bounded by a river on the east, the financial district on the south, and the Midtown commercial area on the north. The western boundary used by the City Planning Commission stops at Chinatown (southwest) and Greenwich Village (northwest), but, as the school draws students also from these last two areas, we will also discuss them. The total area under consideration is about two square miles with a total population of about 250,000 people. Historically, this area has served as first stop for immigrants to this country since the 19th Century. Situated in Lower Manhattan near the port of entry and ecologically somewhat isolated from the main north-south transportation lines of the city, this area has for over a century provided cheap housing for immigrants and resisted the massive development so characteristic of much of Manhattan. At the same time, its proximity to heavy concentrations of business enterprise have made it a ready pool of unskilled and semi-skilled labor. The street plan and many of the buildings of the turn of the century remain. The population has actually declined steadily since the immigration quotas of the 1920's were imposed. Many of the members of these early immigrant groups, chiefly Eastern European Jews and Southern Italians and their descendants, have moved out of the neigh-

borhood in a process of upward mobility. Those who remain are either poor and/or elderly or they inhabit the areas of better housing within the lower East Side, particularly the new moderate and middle income highrise housing along the river. In the last thirty years, however, new streams of immigrants from the American south, Puerto Rico, the Caribbean and Latin America, and th Pacific Orient have arrived here and have recently become a majority of the population of the area.

Several distinct neighborhoods can be distinguished within the two general areas of the Lower East Side and Harlem, if we are careful to remember the degree of closure can vary sharply, from the very distinct although expanding boundaries of Chinatown to the much more fluid types of boundaries that characterize the West Side, as mentioned above, and also characterize parts of the Lower East Side. The Lower East Side neighborhoods which are distinctively bounded include Chinatown, Little Italy, and Greenwich Village. There are also areas which are less distinctively unified and which house small ethnic concentrations of Poles, Ukranians, Dominicans, and American blacks. Puerto Ricans constitute the numerically largest group. Non-ethnic groupings such as homosexuals, artists and bohemians, and alcoholics also have their own distinctive areas among the ethnic neighborhoods. With the exception of the Village residents, most of the groups just mentioned are not affluent and live in old, often deteriorated housing. There are also some new high-rise housing developments at the bottom of the Village and along the East River. These are publicly subsidized developments which are predominantly occupied by moderate to middle income households, but about 15% of the apartments are also set aside by law for low-

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income households.

Physical Conditions and Ecological Constraints

Jutting into the East River, the Lower East Side is separated from the main narrow north-south pattern of Manhattan island. The street pattern is archaic and poorly integrated with the regular grid pattern of the rest of the island. Easy connections to the main North-South public transportation routes are lacking. The area is divided by major traffic arteries leading to the bridges across the East River. A disproportionate amount of space is devoted to streets which are little used, excepting the abovementioned arteries. Some of these streets are still used for open-air markets which in the past drew many shoppers into the area, especially on Sunday when only Jewish merchants could remain open. This retail activity is greatly attenuated today, however. There is very little recreation space in the area, only 8.5%. Most of the buildings are old, deteriorated and overcrowded. The exceptions are the band of post-WWII highrise housing along the river. The percentage of manufacturing space, 9%, is rather high, although the area is still primarily residential and manufacturing jobs have been leaving the area and the city in general steadily for many years. Recently, artists and young middle-income people without children for the most part have been converting some of the old loft industrial space to residential and studio use. The lack of park space and the heavy truck traffic across the bridges contribute to one of the worst air pollution indexes in the city.

Population Characteristics

A 1970 planning study of the Lower East Side (Abeles and Schwartz, 1970) from which much of this information is taken distinguishes five principal segments of the population according to factors of age, ethnicity and income:

1. Low-income Puerto Rican, Negro, and Chinese Households: These account for 25 to 30,000 of the 70,000 households of the area. They are the most recent arrivals to the neighborhood and are for the most part younger than the members of the earlier immigrant groups who remain.
2. Moderate-Income Puerto Rican, Negro, and Chinese households; these number not more than 6,000 households and tend to live in the same areas of better housing occupied by the middle class white population.
3. Moderate and middle-income older and middle-aged white households: about 10,000 households. These people tend to live in the large housing projects which have been built in the area since World War II and which are often publicly subsidized although intended for moderate income families (under the New York States Mitchell-Lama rent subsidy program. This group is declining in numbers.
4. Low-Income middle-aged and elderly white households: about 20,000 households. These people are the members of the earlier Jewish and Italian immigration waves who have been left behind as the other members of their groups moved up and out. Many of them are now isolated and helpless because of their age and because they are increasingly surrounded by the newer arrivals whose languages and ways are strange to them.

5. Moderate and middle-income younger white households: about 6,000 to 8,000 households. These are the artists and young couples for the most part without children, who have been converting industrial space to residential use and who are attracted by the diversity of the neighborhood as well as the cultural activities which take place in the downtown area.

The above data makes clear that the newer arrivals are younger and contribute the larger part of the public school population. Add to these considerations the fact that middle-class people often send their children to private schools, and one understands why the public school enrollments in Manhattan are more than 50% black and Puerto Rican, most of them working class, whereas these groups do not yet constitute nearly so large a percentage of the total population of Manhattan or this neighborhood.

Another population factor of great importance to the schools is that of the high rate of turnover in this neighborhood, a 40% to 50% rate not being uncommonly reported by the schools.

Income: Of 70,000 households, 14,000 to 17,000 receive some kind of welfare assistance. This includes both Aid to Dependent Children and Social Security benefits which are the main subsistence of most of the elderly. Somewhat less than 60% are employed, and few of those employed earn enough to maintain a decent standard of living. Of those employed, less than 10% work in professional, technical and managerial positions.

Institutions:

The population flux of the area has caused extreme problems for the creation and maintenance of the social agencies and other institutions

which can minister to the needs of this population. In particular, the cohesive political organization which can give a neighborhood clout in demanding resources is lacking and often subject to divisiveness among the different population groups. Perhaps the most characteristic institutions of the area are the settlement houses established in the 19th Century to serve the earlier immigrant groups. These in fact flourish today and have adjusted many of their services to the new population while continuing programs for the elderly members of the groups for which they were originally designed. The settlement houses are still controlled by members of the original groups.

The Federal anti-poverty programs of the late 1960's, and municipal decentralization programs in city governance and education have given birth to several local agencies with potential access to local decision-making power and to outside development resources. These newly created agencies have been the nexus of some intense struggles among different ethnic groups and even among factions within ethnic groups in the case of Chinatown. This divisiveness has hampered political effectiveness of the neighborhood in competing with other neighborhoods of the city for limited resources. The ethnic divisiveness which has surfaced in struggles over these agencies appears in many areas of the neighborhood's life. Youth gangs defend various areas of turf and occasionally collide. Struggles over scarce housing are often enacted in ethnic terms, especially as Chinatown spills over its boundaries.

Ethnic conflict is not inevitable, however, as two successful community struggles illustrate, both of which involved cooperation among members of the different groups. In one case, a city hospital which was slated to be built in the area and then was canceled provoked concerted and successful community action. In another case, a new expressway which would have further fragmented the area and worsened pollution was contested and canceled.

Perhaps the most widely reported inter-ethnic struggle of the neighborhood in recent years has concerned the control of the local community school board. This struggle is largely Jewish, not just in this neighborhood but citywide, this struggle came to be enacted in terms of ethnic ideologies. The unanticipated result of school decentralization has been the power the union derives from its organizational abilities and resources. After contesting the election, the union finally managed to oust the Hispanic superintendent. A dispute over ethnic quotas in a recently constructed housing project kept it vacant for a year after completion. A compromise between the elderly Jews for whom it was originally intended and the younger Hispanic families who disputed this was eventually reached, with both groups receiving a percentage of the apartments.

Having taken an aggregate look at the Lower East Side, let us now turn to each of the separate areas of the neighborhood and examine how this population is distributed. The sub-sections which are most distinctive are Little Italy, Chinatown, the area immediately around Sheridan High School where the elderly Jews live, the area north of Delancey Street where Hispanics live, the band of projects along the river, and Greenwich Village, a middle-class area that extends far west of the Lower East Side but which borders it and

contributes some students to Sheridan High School.

Little Italy

This area is gradually disappearing as an Italian neighborhood. The Italians have maintained a distinctive and viable neighborhood longer than the Jews who arrived at the same historical period, but the status of Little Italy today can be inferred from the creation of the Little Italy Restoration Association. This organization is supported largely by Italian-Americans who live outside their original neighborhood and are making a nostalgic attempt to preserve it. The area is well-known for its restaurants and street festivals, but it is steadily being encroached upon by a neighboring and rapidly expanding Chinatown. An area of Dominican settlement has also replaced part of the old Italian neighborhood.

Chinatown

Since the immigration law of 1965 which opened the door to many more people from the Pacific Orient, Chinatown's population has increased five-fold. Chinatown has been there since the 19th Century, but the characteristics of its population and governance have changed radically since 1965. Before that time, the residents tended to think of themselves and act as "overseas Chinese." Few women were present, the majority of the population being men who planned eventually return with their earnings overseas. The governance of Chinatown was in the hands of the traditional merchant associations which were articulated into one overarching association, the Chinatown Consolidated Benevolent Association. The CCBA president is referred to as the major of Chinatown by Chinese and outsiders alike, even though he has no formal status in the city government. The structure of this

governance system has been disrupted by the rapid increase in population. Youth gangs arose in the late sixties, first to protect themselves from non-Chinese gangs, and then challenged the merchant associations with protection rackets. The merchants then hired the gangs to protect their own gambling establishments. This alliance is an uneasy one at present. In addition to the challenge from the youth gangs, the traditional leaders have been challenged by the younger, American-born, non-Chinese-speaking, college-educated Chinese who have begun to work through the newly formed anti-poverty and community development agencies. The traditional leaders are conservative and pro-Taiwanese, while these younger, educated people have experimented with left-wing Third World ideologies.

Class differences among the Chinese in New York are pronounced. Chinatown has two substantial industries, garment factories and tourism. Restaurants and shops attract many tourists. Both the owners and the workers in these establishments are Chinese. The workers are non-unionized and work long hours for little pay. The garment factories, the major employers, pay by piecework and are reminiscent of the sweatshops that the Jewish organizers of the ILGWU fought generations ago. The garment factory owners themselves, however, merely contract from larger, non-Chinese-owned businesses and are caught in a marginal, intensely competitive, market situation. Despite the fact that the residents of Chinatown are the workers and the owners who control the CCBA tend to live elsewhere, the physical and social boundedness of the Chinese community is extreme and contrasts sharply with organization of other ethnic groups on the Lower East Side. One striking example is the pattern of youth gang activity just described. Chinese youth

gangs differ from other gangs in their organization and activities. Their alliance with the traditional powers, though uneasy, has no counterpart among black, Puerto Rican, and Italian gangs of the area. Though the boundaries of Chinatown are expanding and becoming looser now that liberal influences are arising among the younger Chinese, these boundaries, both physical and social, are more clearly demarcated and the segregation of the Chinatown Chinese is correspondingly more pronounced than are other ethnic and neighborhood boundaries on the Lower East Side.

The Elderly Jews below Bridge Street

These people live in the area that was once a vast open air market, and which immediately borders Sheridan High School. Many small shops selling yarn, kosher foods, Jewish religious articles, and clothing over which one can still bargain, still remain, but this retail activity as well as the population of buyers and sellers who once engaged in it are steadily dwindling. The Chinese have started moving into the western edge of this area. The Puerto Ricans and Dominicans are encroaching on the northern boarder. The Jewish residents who remain are for the most part poor, elderly, and isolated among the new arrivals. About one fifth of them live in public housing, but the rest live in the aging tenements. The majority of them have inadequate income, less than \$4,000 a year, which they receive from pensions, Social Security, and other forms of public assistance. They are separated by social class from the middle-class Jews who live nearby in the high-rises.

The Hispanic Population North of Bridge Street

Although people of Hispanic background, predominantly but not entirely Puerto Rican live throughout the Lower East Side and constitute the largest segment of the population, the densest concentration of them live north of Bridge Street, the major traffic artery to one of the bridges which lies just one block north of Sheridan High School. Several aspects of the Puerto Rican population of New York in general and this neighborhood in particular deserve mention.

Structurally and politically, New York's black and Hispanic populations have often found themselves in a similar situation with regard to more powerful groups and interests in society. These two groups are the most numerous and most recent arrivals to the city and face many of the problems of income, housing, and employment that faced the last great wave of immigration that ended in the 1920's. In some respects, their situation is worse, since they have come into the city at a time when the job market for unskilled and semi-skilled laborers is gradually shrinking, rather than rapidly expanding as it was during the earlier period. In other respects, the recent immigrants have certain advantages over the earlier groups in that they benefit from the far more progressive social legislation of the current era in such areas as public assistance, minimum wage, and civil rights legislation. Interestingly, the labor struggles of the earlier groups work to the disadvantage of the newcomers since many unions are closed to them entirely or in all but the lower wage categories. The bulk of the clerical workers in this office town, for example, many of whom are black and Hispanic, are non-unionized.

Hispanics as a group are poorer than blacks, since blacks first came to the city during the First World War and have established a considerable middle class and a set of political and cultural institutions. New York has also had a Puerto Rican population since the 1920's, but the bulk of the Hispanic immigrants have arrived since the Second World War and are just beginning to establish their own institutions and to find the potential political power which resides in their numbers. Blacks have established their claim to certain desirable jobs as skilled workmen and in the municipal bureaucracy and unions. Few of the more recently arrived Hispanics have access to such jobs.

These common problems of New York's blacks and Hispanics have given rise to some overt political alliances, particularly in the struggles of the last few years over political governance of the school system. Both blacks and Puerto Ricans are American citizens and thus politically enfranchised, in contrast to the earlier immigrants. The two groups have been united in opposition to the educational bureaucracy and the teachers' union since the bitter, ethnically charged strike of 1969. Increasingly, there has been a direct social alliance between the two groups, as their physical proximity and common political interests have thrown them into direct interaction. The social interaction of the two groups is perhaps most noticeable in the fusion of "soul" and "salsa" musical styles and the mutual appreciation for each other's popular music that has occurred recently.

Even as the social interaction increases, however, the political alliance is becoming differentiated. In the early years of the civil

rights struggle, Hispanics tended to throw their interests in with those of blacks, on whom national attention was then focused. In those years, Hispanics had yet to organize themselves separately and to define their own distinct interests. Now, that situation is changing. In the struggles over the schools, for example, in which blacks and Hispanics have been united in the past, their interests are now diverging as bilingual education becomes a consuming issue for Hispanics but stirs little interest among blacks.

Thus, distinct ethnic and economic boundaries and often physical neighborhood boundaries still remain between the two groups. Cultural differences between the groups include language and family organization. One of the most distinctive aspects of the Puerto Rican population which sets it apart from the black population is the fact of circular migration. As Lewis (1965) noted, in 1960 there was a net migration to the United States of 20,000, though Puerto Ricans made almost a million trips back and forth between New York and San Juan. Statistics show that the fluctuations of these migration patterns correlate closely with the business and employment cycles on the mainland. Jet fares are kept artificially low between New York and San Juan in order to facilitate this process. Puerto Rico thus serves as a labor pool for the New York metropolitan region and thus must be included in the social field of this region if we are to maintain our definition of community as a relatively complete social unit capable of reproducing itself. This theoretical stipulation finds its practical examples in the case of the "Newyoricans", second generation New York born children of Puerto Rican born parents who have returned to Puerto Rico and find themselves with an "ethnic" stigma since they cannot speak Spanish properly

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and do not understand life on the island since they have only lived in a big city.

This circular migration of Puerto Ricans continuously serves to maintain the cultural distinctiveness of the Puerto Rican population of New York. In addition, the practice of sending remittances of money back to relatives on the island perpetuates the ties between the populations of the two places.

Until recently, the Puerto Ricans of New York have lacked the degree of political organization evinced by other groups in the city, including blacks who have an established tradition of leadership which is strongly tied to their church organizations. Most Puerto Ricans, both in Puerto Rico and New York, are nominally Catholics but without close ties to church organizations, including the parochial schools. A minority of them have turned to Protestant sects of the Pentecostal type and these groups are very tightly knit, often along kinship lines. The nascence of ethnic political power for New York's Puerto Ricans has been fostered by the anti-poverty agencies, with their Federal mandates for community participation in governance, and by municipal decentralization. In general, however, New York's Puerto Ricans lack both the tight internal political organization of Chinatown and the integration into regular bipartisan politics that one sees among the blacks of Central Harlem. A radical political element does exist, both among some intellectuals as well as in some of the street gangs of the Bronx that have become politicized and have incorporated Third World ideologies. The radical elements are at present a small minority among a predominantly non-politicized group.

Family structure and sex roles among Puerto Ricans, although changing in response to the urban environment, still differ markedly from those of blacks. Puerto Ricans, though somewhat poorer as a group than blacks, have larger families and a greater percentage of families with both parents present in the home. The separation of men's and women's roles is much more emphasized among them than among blacks.

Having now examined some of the characteristics of the Hispanic population of New York and particularly of the most numerous groups among them, the Puerto Ricans, let us focus more closely on the Hispanic population of the Lower East Side. The Lower East Side contains one of the major areas of Hispanic settlement, but there are other Hispanic areas in the city which are larger, and more importantly for our analysis, are more segregated. The largest and most segregated is the South Bronx, and it is from the South Bronx that the first wave of Hispanic politicians has arisen. There is certainly class conflict to be observed in this emergent political process as leaders with upper class manners and connections to the wider political arena compete with local bosses who find their constituency in the appeal to the social clubs which are based on hometown and kinship ties derived from Puerto Rican localities. Despite the class and other conflicts within the Hispanic population, the South Bronx is well on its way towards the kind of political and institutional unification that Central Harlem has acquired after decades of being a segregated black residential neighborhood. The anti-poverty agencies with their mandates for local control have been instrumental in both cases.

The Lower East Side, in contrast, despite the fact that it has an area with a large Hispanic population and a distinct Hispanic flavor in terms of the presence of stores selling culturally specialized foods, clothing, medicines and other items, is not physically segregated the way the Harlem and South Bronx neighborhoods are. The political representation of the Lower East Side neighborhood, similarly, does not evolve from intra-ethnic struggles but from a process of alternating conflict and alliance of different ethnic groups according to the various issues.

The Dominicans. One distinct ethnic group we have not mentioned is the Dominicans. This people constitute a minority within the Hispanic population and are quite often taken to be Puerto Ricans by non-Hispanics, including much of the staff at Sheridan High School. The Dominicans in New York reside chiefly on the Upper West Side and in Queens, but they also inhabit part of the old Italian area of the Lower East Side. They differ from Puerto Ricans in several crucial respects. Puerto Ricans and Dominicans can often distinguish each other by color, dialect, and manners. The Dominicans tend to be darker and more rural in origin, so that they are sometimes derided as "hicks" or "hibaros" by the Puerto Ricans. In addition, they are not American citizens and an unknown number of them are illegal immigrants. They often do not intend to stay long on the mainland and try to send as much of their money as possible back to their island to finance small businesses or buy land on their return. In this respect, they resemble the Chinatown population in the years when it consisted mostly of men trying to send money home and considering themselves as "overseas Chinese." Despite their intentions, however, many end up staying and bringing

over their families. Many are employed in non-unionized manufacturing jobs, like the poor Chinese. They are decidedly more politicized than the Puerto Ricans. Their family structure and sex role divisions strongly resemble those of the Puerto Ricans, however. Within Sheridan High School, we have had several Dominican student informants. The common language they share with Puerto Ricans makes contact frequent, although they also separate themselves actively in several ways. We observed Dominican girls accepting compliments but refusing dates with Puerto Rican boys, for example.

The Housing Projects. For the moment, political power on the Lower East Side seems to be in the hands of the group of white, middle-class people who live in highly sought after, subsidized, high-rise housing projects of the neighborhood, many of which form the eastern border of the Lower East Side along the river. These people are Italian, Irish and Jewish, for the most part, and are descendents of earlier waves of immigration. They may retain very few of the cultural traits of their immigrant forbears, although they are still likely to vote along ethnic lines. This was the group which the teacher's union successfully mobilized in order to oust the Hispanic superintendent of the local school district. Although their numbers are fewer than the Hispanic population of the district, their mobilization was far superior, and they currently control not only the school districts but the settlement houses and other local governmental agencies. (It is important to remember that in New York, the health, education, police, fire and other municipal service jurisdictions do not coincide.)

Puerto Ricans and other Hispanics have recently begun to move into these projects, which now comprise fully half the housing units of the neighborhood. By law, the projects must contain a mixture of low and

moderate income housing, and the Puerto Ricans have begun to occupy much of the low income housing. The moderate income apartments, however, are almost entirely occupied by whites. It is difficult to say what proportion of this group's children attend private schools, but we have been able to observe a rapid decrease in Sheridan High School's white population over the five years of our observations. Several of Sheridan's teachers and staff live in this housing.

The Jews are the most numerous ethnic group among these middle-class whites, and constitute a large majority of the public school staff in particular. In order to understand the role of ethnic identification of Jews in relation to an embracing system of mutually defining ethnic categorizations, we are compelled here to extend our social field outside the Metropolitan area to the national and international arena. The degree and manner of ethnic identification among New York Jews varies greatly, from the militance of the mostly working-class Jewish Defense League, to the religious definitions of the various sects of more affluent Jews, to the completely secular "cultural" Judaism of still other Jews. The point to bear in mind, however, is that Jews are currently very powerful in the local political arena. They occupy a very large portion of the local power positions. With regard to the national arena, however, they are a minority, and their articulation of minority consciousness is well established. The days when the Jews of New York were in fact discriminated against as a minority are well within the memory of living members of the group. Thus, the tradition of ethnic politics in New York derives much of its power from the fact that even the group with the most electoral power at present considers itself a minority. The irony is that discrimination against minorities is regarded as an abomination by most New Yorkers of all

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backgrounds even as they appeal for votes along ethnic lines.

Greenwich Village. Just north of Little Italy and west of the Lower East Side proper, the Village does send a few students, mostly white and middle-class, to Sheridan. In the past a haven for impoverished bohemians and artists as well as an Italian population, the residents today still include some Italians and many artists. The rents have risen, however, and this is now one of the major areas in the city for higher education, night life and the arts. The artists who live there today are established and well-to-do. The newer, younger, and poorer bohemians have been driven East and South, into the lofts of the Lower East Side and even into Brooklyn.

Harlem. Central Harlem and the Lower East Side occupy roughly the same amount of space, have roughly equal numbers and density of population and roughly similar housing stock and about the same amount of ecological closure. Levels of employment and social pathology are comparable, although Harlem has a considerable middle class. Both neighborhoods are primarily residential, although the Lower East Side has slightly more and more diverse kinds of economic enterprise. Harlem has better transportation to heavily developed business areas of Manhattan and a lower level of air pollution since it has less through traffic. The major differences between these two areas, though, are those of the stability and cultural heterogeneity of population. The greater population stability and degree of cultural homogeneity of Central Harlem are the key factors which make Harlem more politically and culturally unified than the Lower East Side. Of the residents of Central Harlem, 94% are black and 91% are American-born. Further, although Harlem is still a traditional first stop for black immigrants to the city from the South and elsewhere, fully two thirds of the population counted in the 1960 census were still living in the

same location as five years previously.

The greater population stability and degree of cultural homogeneity of Central Harlem are key factors which make this area more politically and culturally unified than the Lower East Side. Churches are numerous in Harlem; over 400 have been counted, and they are often quite involved in party politics. Harlem residents vote and have the clout to demand the attention of the city's political power structure. Traditionally, Harlem has had a reputation as the cultural capital of black Americans. It is perhaps no longer the center of Jazz music that it once was, but its dance and theatre productions travel downtown and around the country regularly. The community school districts of Harlem have been far more successful in resisting the organizational power of the teacher's union than has the Lower East Side. During the most recent teacher's strike, for example, the only group of teachers in the city that refused to strike was in one of the Harlem districts. White as well as black teachers stayed on the job in this district. In another incident, during the budget crisis, a fire station ordered closed by the city was kept open through joint efforts of the fireman and the local residents. The anti-poverty agencies are also important in Harlem for social services and community governance.

A great deal of controversy has raged around the topic of lower-class black family organization, and much of this controversy has used Central Harlem as a data base. The high rate of matrifocal households, as reflected in social statistics, was taken by some to indicate a breakdown of the black family. The notion was then challenged as ethnocentric and not based on any examination of social process, that is, any notion of how these families function. More recent work (Stack, 1974) indicates that the matrifocal family cannot be characterized as degenerate so much as an adaptation to economic

circumstances that have often made black men unemployed and their reported presence in the home an obstacle to welfare relief. Further, these variations in family form are related to sex role expectations which have always conferred a degree of independence to black women that may indeed even be traceable back to the market women of West Africa. In our study of organized crime, for example, we found that black organized crime networks, in contrast to those of Cubans, Puerto Ricans, and Italians.

Comparison of the neighborhoods and their populations. Though Harlem and the Lower East Side have similar economic and ecological profiles to a great extent, other socio-cultural factors differentiate them. The population of Central Harlem belongs largely to one ethnic group and has established stability over time, even though younger, upwardly mobile members do tend to move out. The Lower East Side, in contrast, is divided among several ethnic groups and is characterized by a much higher rate of population turnover. Many more of the residents of the Lower East Side are recently arrived immigrants who may still be tied to their point of origin by circular migration and monetary remittances. These people are also more likely to be non-citizens or even illegal aliens and not to speak English as a first language.

Within the Lower East Side, the degree of segregation of various groups in particular geographic concentrations varies a great deal from the relatively closed, though expanding, boundaries of Chinatown to the mixture of poor Puerto Ricans and middle class whites in the high rise housing projects and the area around the school where the old housing is shared among blacks, elderly Jews, Puerto Ricans, and Chinese. There is a major Hispanic concentration above Delancey Street, although the boundaries of the Hispanic area are not as

rigid as those around other Hispanic areas in the city such as the South Bronx.

The ethnic diversity of the Lower East Side is also coupled with a greater degree of economic diversity than is to be found in Harlem. Restaurants, manufacturing, and retail enterprises are more numerous and diverse on the Lower East Side.

Thus, we see that patterns of interaction in the community within and across ethnic boundaries are pronounced and describable, although intricate. The neighborhoods which contribute the school's population exhibit varied but definite patterns of ecological, economic, political, and social organization. Our research process led us to seek out these patterns within the community because only in the context of this knowledge were we able to describe and understand the patterns of interaction within the school. Much of the informal organization of turfs and networks and social control in Sheridan High School derives directly from similar processes in the larger community of which the school is a part. The interactional patterns and informal organization in the school also derive from the responses of its participants to the formal organization, the planned and repetitive sequences of activities which are designed to accomplish the educational enterprise which is the task of this organization. In the following chapters on administration, curriculum, and teaching, we describe the bureaucratic structures and operations of Sheridan High School and the kinds of constraints and options they impose on staff and students.

Manhattan

Harlem

East Side

Park

Midtown Commercial
District

The Village

Little Italy
(Dominicans)

Chinatown

Sheridan
X High
School

Mixed
Area

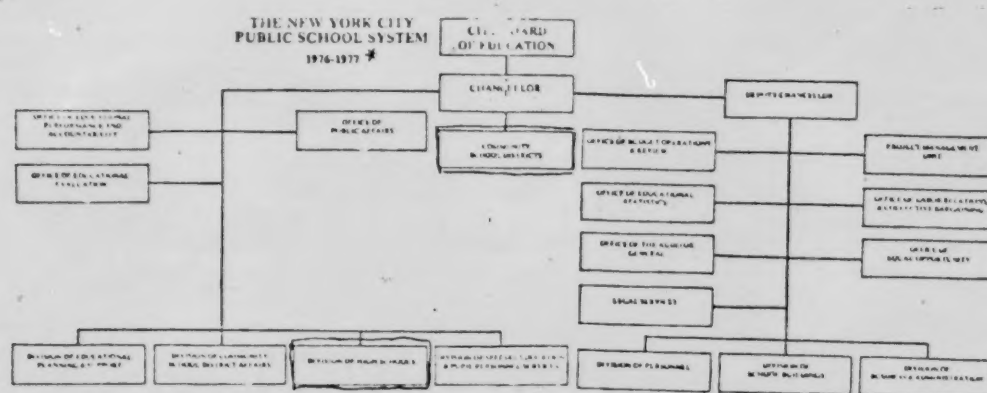
Downtown Financial

Administrative Structure and Organization

Structure

The high school, containing anywhere from 3500 to 4200 students, covers an entire city block, standing six stories high; it has two annexes as well, one for the ninth and most of the tenth grade students (and referred to as "the annex"), located several blocks from the "main building", and the other, used for the Educational Alternative Program (EAP), is located on Wall Street, in space rented by the Board of Education.

This high school is one of 111 in the entire school system. Though the school system consists of 32 separate community school districts, only the elementary and junior high schools are controlled by these districts. As outlined before, this designation and use of the community school districts came as a result of a struggle to decentralize the entire school system. These efforts were compromised and, therefore, the high schools and special schools remained under the supervision of the Central Board of Education.



*Source: Facts And Figures 1975-6 Board of Education, City of New York

Under the Board of Education plan, there are three types of high schools: academic-comprehensive, vocational-technical, and independent-alternative*.

Some of the academic-comprehensive schools are competitive, thereby restricting enrollment according to ability. Others, such as Sheridan, restrict enrollment through the feeder schools assigned to them. Other students wishing to attend these schools must get special permission or prove they are moving to the communities which feed students into the school. The feeder schools for Sheridan come from Harlem and the surrounding area of the Lower East Side as described in the community chapter

The resulting ethnic population for the school is:

Total No.	Black No. Pct.	Oriental No. Pct.	Spa. Sur. No. Pct.	Other No. Pct.	Year
4630	1161 25.1	714 15.4	1810 39.1	945 20.4	1971/2
5075	1268 25.3	785 15.5	2056 40.5	948 18.7	1972/3
4953	1274 25.7	863 17.4	1913 38.6	902 18.2	1973/4
4211	894 21.2	798 19.0	1910 45.4	606 14.4	1974/5
4159	797 19.2	868 20.9	2080 50.0	414 10.0	1975/6

As can be noted, besides the overall drop in students attending the school, there has been a shift in the proportions representing each "gross" ethnic category. The decline in the white attendance has to do with white-flight tendencies, aging of certain white ethnic populations so that there are fewer children, and the increase of the proportion of white children who attend private schools. Oriental ethnic groups and Spanish-surname ethnic groups have had a rise in the number of immigrants over the past few years. The drop in the number of black students at Sheridan is based on political problems with the feeder schools from one of the community districts assigned to feed into Sheridan. A political upset between Puerto Rican and black community groups caused one school to be closed. The opening of a high school in

the Bronx pulled many students from another feeder school, thus diverting more black students away from Sheridan.

Teacher assignment comes from the Central Board, selected by scores on competitive examinations and from rank-order lists of eligibilities. The particular composition for Sheridan is:

Year	Total No.	Black		Oriental		Sp. Sur.		Other	
		No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
1971/2	234	5	2.1	8	3.4	13	5.6	203	88.9
1972/3	231	5	2.6	10	4.3	10	4.3	205	88.7
1973/4	209	6	2.9	9	4.3	10	4.8	184	88.0
1974/5	180	4	2.2	9	5.0	10	5.6	157	87.2
1975/6	156	6	3.8	7	4.5	8	5.1	135	86.5

While the ethnic breakdown percentages have shifted over the past few years for the students, the same is not true for the teachers of the school. As can be seen, the distribution of teachers across ethnic categories has remained fairly stable.

More than 86% of the staff, however, have over five years of teaching experience, which explains why this group is more stable. The overall staff composition of the school (from the last year of our research) is as follows: (2 principals**, 12 assistant principals (which includes department chairmen and vice-principals), 139.5 teachers, 8.6 guidance counselors, 12.3 secretaries, 3.3 other professionals (library staff) and 1 assistant stockman. The other high school personnel are paid on an hourly basis, which can include: instructional paraprofessionals, security guards, and others (such as school aides, school lunch helpers, parent-program assistants, family workers, family assistants, and family associates.) The school is allotted

a certain number of hours to use in hiring people for these positions. The allocation of this time is, to some extent, left to their discretion. For instance, to understand all the structural aspects of the functioning of the school, it is necessary to know the determinant of these. In part, the curriculum, staffing and other school processes are determined by the school budget. The composition of the budget comes from various funding sources, all of which depend upon various funding formulas. As these formulas calculate funding according to school or regional specific characteristics, these characteristics (such as attendance rates, student SES, native languages, and become determinants for school resources.

In this fashion the school is controlled/governed by various external bureaucracies which, in giving money, also gain the right to regulate the use of these funds. They specify how the money can be spent, such as limiting the number or the qualifications of people who can be employed, what can be taught, and so forth. The major areas that fund (and thus regulate) education are: Tax-levy funds, special state-aid funds, and federal funds (though special programs). All monies come through the Board of Education; the main bloc of funding comes from local taxes, which are apportioned to the school by city government.

Tax-levy money is allocated to the high schools by the Board of Education according to the achievement test scores and attendance data at the school. Specific teacher allocation and curricular programs are determined by these factors and by the curriculum index, as calculated through the organizational report.

State monies are purposely allocated in recognition of the state's respon-

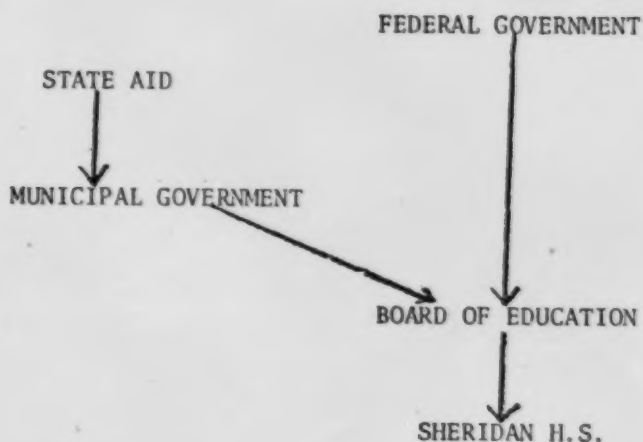
sibility for maintaining and supporting public schools. With the adoption of the article XI, the state guaranteed provision of free public education for all children of the state. Thuse, use of state aid for operating expenses has been to "equalize the educational burdens and resources of school districts." In theory, this was to be according to a community's ability to support its educational programs. Calculation of aid allocation is based on two factors: real property tax and daily pupil attendance. The first factor is to determine the capacity of a system to provide education. The second factor, which is to determine the school's burden, places this district, and Sheridan in particular, in a difficult position, for attendance tracking is difficult with so transitory a population. The third funding source is from federal programs, which strictly regulate how the money is to be spent. For Sheridan, the major federal source is from Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Assistance Act. A school is eligible to receive additional educational services under Title I if its percentage of low-income pupils is equal to or greater than the city-wide percentage of low-income pupils. The funds provide for reading teachers, assistance, Title I counselors, and family assistant/workers, though only for those children who are two years below reading level.

State and Federal money provides free lunch (and now breakfast) for those pupils belonging to low-income families (based on their own formula) or to families with special hardship costs. At Sheridan, 45% of the students are eligible for free lunch.

Other federal resources provide additional services to the school. Through Title VII, as applied for by one of the teachers at Sheridan, the school has a bilingual program for its Chinese students. With these extra

funds, the school can service the students in subject areas (math, science and history). Before this, the students had only the availability of ESL courses. These funds are constrained, however, as the teacher-in-charge explained. As supplementary funds, they cannot be spent on bilingual teachers, only on aides. The funds can and are being used to design curriculum to be used in the classes. In order to hire bilingual teachers (now classes are taught by using English-speaking teachers and a bilingual aid) Mrs. Pam Yeu is applying for state funds for teacher-hiring sources.

Title III also provides discretionary funds. These funds are specifically for library resources and materials.



FLOW OF FUNDS - TITLE III

These various funding formulas and stimulations work together to determine how Sheridan will achieve its goal of schooling, through the provision of monies and stipulation of needs. These money-related rules are not the

only regulatory systems of the school. The school is controlled through a conglomeration of state laws, Board of Education policies, and union rules, which are more indirectly related to the funds, but which establish the discretionary boundaries for the school. Not only do they govern how the money is to be spent, as illustrated before, but what services can be sought, the curriculum to be used, the pupils to be serviced, but also they regulate how teachers are to be hired and how hiring is to be controlled for discriminatory treatment.

All these determiners, for resources and for regulation are combined in the school's management. For instance, given a certain number in the school's management. For instance, given a certain number of students and their needs, plus the regulations concerning teachers' rights which specify class size and the number of classes a teacher may have, the school can calculate how it will be organized for classes. The curriculum index allots the number of teachers the school will be able to retain or to hire. Other factors hinging on allocation are the subjects a student will be able to take and the number of periods in a school day, which adjusts the beginning and closing of school.

Understandably, a great deal of controversy arises over just how these rules should be designed and enforced. Various events occurred during our observations, which were change efforts to effect just that.

A. Bilingual Education

Various Hispanic civil rights groups, particularly ASPIRA, have been pressuring the Board of Education to provide educational services for Hispanic children whose native language is other than English. Through the Lau court decision and subsequent civil rights regulations these groups were able to

get a consent decree to force the Board into providing these services. This is an ongoing effort, however, for the groups are still trying to ensure that the Board will carry out its duties, both in identifying the students to be serviced and providing adequate educational services for them.

B. Office for Civil Rights Review

The problems of equality of educational opportunity in New York City schools touched off a major investigation by the Office for Civil Rights. For the first time the Office of Civil Rights attempted to review four major cities, evaluating all possible points of student educational services and employment practices. Discriminatory treatment, if not corrected, could eventually lead to withholding of federal funds. Resolution of these problems requires a restructuring of the Board of Education practices. At the present time the two agencies, the Board of Education and the Office of Civil Rights are negotiating acceptable plans for change; already an uneasiness over this has permeated the school system. Even at the stage of data collection, school personnel were suspicious of the long-range purpose of these forms asking for teacher and student ethnicity figures. In fact, some principals felt so threatened that it took a court order to force them to turn over the data. Now that change is close at hand -- new teacher assignment plans are already being used to balance the distribution of minority teachers -- anxiety is increasing, bringing increased involvement of outside agencies, influential politicians, and so forth. The correction of discriminatory treatment is complicated by the network of state laws and union contracts which endorse the present teacher hiring system. Federal law, while holding precedent over state law, forces the school system into a tense situation, worsened by the fact that part of the plan for reform is a promise to change state law.

C. State-Aid-School Finance Case

As pointed out before, the school's activities are determined by the types of funding made available, which becomes contingent upon the formulae and the components of the funding formulae. The state funding formula itself became an issue for various districts within this state, forcing the issue into the courts. If the formula were redetermined, these districts held, state aid funds would be distributed more equally. The major city school districts joined the case adding that not only was equal distribution necessary, but the formula should include a weighing factor for special problems of major cities. The major cities of this state joined the court case as plaintiff-intervenors, arguing that a revised formula should also include a weighting factor for urban-specific problems: municipal services overburden, additional costs accrued by urban school absenteeism problems which influence the use of average daily attendance in the aid formula, localized burden of costs for educationally disabled and special-need students. This court case is still pending, but, if decided in favor of the big cities argument, could substantially increase the funding to the major cities.

D. Other court cases

A variety of court actions have attacked the present hiring practices for the New York City schools. Although these cases involve the Board of Examiners, which is not regulated by the Board of Education, the Board of Education is affected by the outcomes of these cases.

For instance, the case of Chance v. the Board of Examiners (330 f. supp. 203) challenged the examinations administered by the Board of

Examiners for supervisory positions in the New York City schools, on the basis that the examinations discriminated by excluding a significantly larger portion of minority applicants than non-minority applicants. The court found the examinations discriminatory.

In another case, which is still pending, the teacher-hiring practices were challenged. In Rubinos et al v. Board of Examiners et al (74 Civ 240) the plaintiffs attacked the discriminatory impact of the examinations and the use of rank-order lists.

These cases have led, in part, to legislative appeal on the part of the Board of Education to change the methods of examination used by the Board of Examiners.

While the school is governed by these various funding and regulatory agencies, it also generates its own rules through the principal and through the administration of the school. Management of the school comes by right through funding, as in the above instances. Management also comes by appointment, as in the principal's case, though he can still be faced with problems in implementing policies relating to regulating teaching and learning in the school

The best example of problems with implementation has been the principal's attempt to control the quality of teaching in the schools. Since he became principal of Sheridan seven years ago, he has given out 17 U-ratings, forcing the removal of teachers from the school. Several teachers then applied to the Human Rights Commission to seek remediation on grounds of discrimination (sex, religious). In addition, there were hints and threats of a "dump the principal" campaign, which may have been an attempt

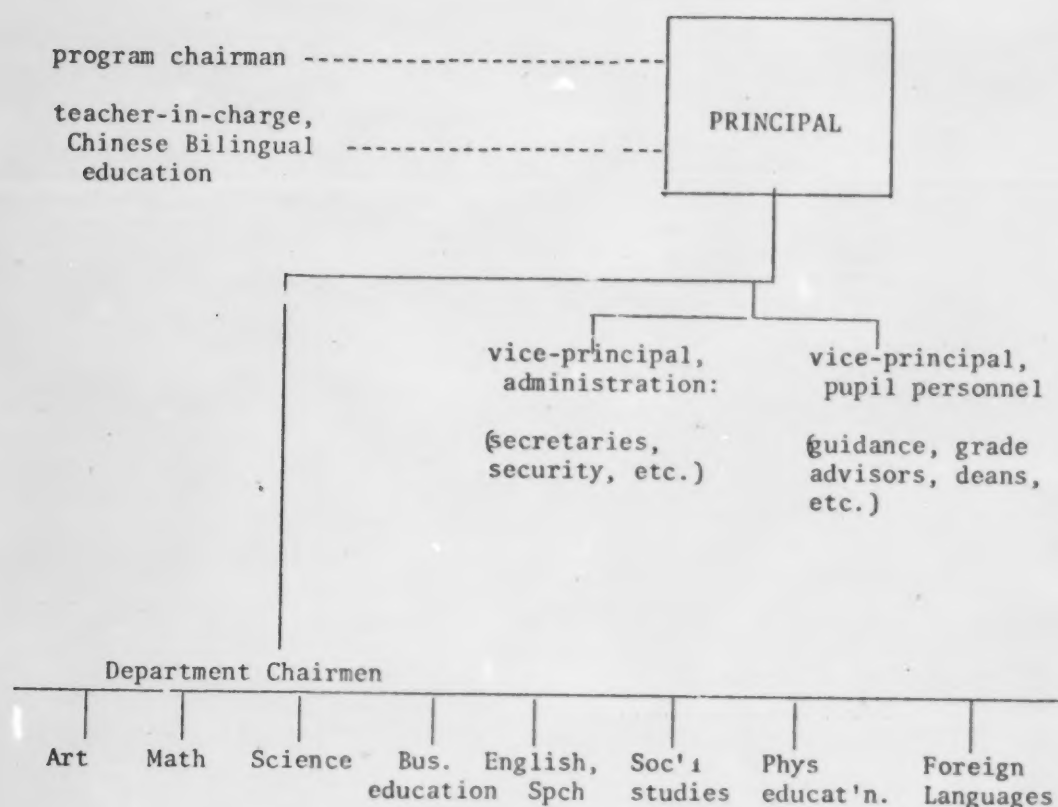
at retribution. These challenge the authority of the principal, constraining his actual time spent in the school or work on school-related problems, as he must defend himself before these commission hearings.

As the school requires a great deal of co-ordination between administrative divisions in order to function, the administration uses formal meetings to periodically convene to resolve problems, or to make plans for the school. There are four types of meetings used for these purposes: faculty meeting (for the entire teaching and administrative faculty; attendance is mandatory ; departmental meeting (each department meets as a group; this, too, is mandatory); executive council (the entire administration meets for one to two hours to review various problems); and the cabinet (only the immediate administration, which includes the principal, the vice-principals and the program chairman). At cabinet meetings many of the problems are aired before they are presented at the executive council meetings. The cabinet also will discuss problems that are less relevant to the entire administration, but are important matters of school management. These meetings tend to be more informal (official agendas are used at executive council meetings and faculty meetings) and often are ad hoc.

Before exploring the workings of the administration further, we will examine the formal organization of the school in terms of its components. This will be followed by a discussion of the informal behavior patterns of the administration.

Overview of Administration

The formal organization chart below has been relatively stable during our study, though major positions have had changes of personnel.



FORMAL ORGANIZATIONAL CHART, SHERIDAN HIGH SCHOOL

The principal's present position should be understood both in terms of his historic administrative behavior in the school and the characteristics of his position. In general, the principal is responsible for overseeing the smooth administration of his school. From our previous social organization study (which included this school) we concluded that there are at least six tasks which the principal must see to in order for the school to run effectively (either carried out by himself or delegated to someone on the staff):

- 1) scheduling and programming
- 2) discipline and order-keeping
- 3) overseeing instruction and supervising curriculum
- 4) mediation and resolution of conflicts between groups within the school and management of communication between outside groups and the school
- 5) policy implementation and "innovation" (the idea of "moving the school forward" in some way)
- 6) performance of socioemotional leadership roles

The delegation of these various tasks are clarified further through the discussion of the other administrators.

Rather than describing his specific tasks per se, an illustration of a "day in his life" follows. As the principal supervises the entire school, he becomes involved in all issues to a varying degree, making it difficult to summarize.

Many of the tasks above are aligned with various goals of the principal. Achieving these goals, by whatever manner he has chosen, has led him to some difficulties, as the history of his administration demonstrates. For instance, during our previous study, we witnessed a power struggle among the administration in the school. These were the first years of the principal at this school and many of the policies he implemented were directly concerned with social control of both students and teachers. A host of new security procedures and personnel were brought in for regulating student traffic in and out of and within the school. Teachers encountered much stricter monitoring of their own attendance and their classroom performance. In fact, the

principal gave over a dozen "unsatisfactory" ratings (U-ratings) during his first year.

As things had been very lax previous to Mr. Sontag, resistance to his new policies emerged among the teachers, though not among the students. The teachers reacted by forming three broad factions. A small but highly vocal minority openly opposed the principal's policies, some through the union, and a few through court actions over the U-ratings. (These court cases went on for several years). Another group including many of those in the administration, strongly supported the principal's new policies. The largest faction did not support either group, but sought cooperation as the best solution.

Over the years, the radical, "anti-principal" group left the school, with only a couple of exceptions. As stated, much of the intensity was channeled into the courts through City and State Human Rights Commissions. Moreover, there have been many turnovers in UFT chapter chairman positions representing the teachers, each one more cooperative with the principal than the previous one. Problems with school-wide policies have replaced, to some degree, the focus on intra-school problems. Dissatisfaction is much less organized.

The principal has made concerted efforts to improve morale, much of which has focused on the changes in school security and improvement of academic performance of the students. He uses these as measures of positive improvement in the school.

Officially, all department chairmen are responsible to the principal, while they oversee all activities within their own department: supervising

the teaching, co-ordinating (if not designing) the exams, designing curriculum for each subject and level, responding to the problems of teachers (from disciplinary and maintenance issues to union grievances). They are also, according to the Board of Education regulations, to teach two classes a day. Finally, they must supervise all administrative tasks for which teachers are responsible: grade assignments, attendance recording, Board of Education forms on classroom composition, and such.

Each department chairman (designated as vice-principal) has his own office space, usually including an inner office for him(her)self and an outer office for work space/storage/convening, and a storage room for textbooks and supplies.

The structure of each department varies according to the number of teachers (approximately 2-40), types of curricular programs (inclusion of federal programs, bilingual classes, or alternative programs). Sometimes the supervision of the department chairman expands to oversee student teachers, paraprofessionals, or school aides. Moreover, like teachers who are assigned comp-time jobs, these department chairmen take on additional administrative duties, outside their own specific department: supervising EAP (Educational Alternative Program), acting as treasurer of the executive council, supervising auxiliary programs or "special students", or coordinating graduation ceremonies. In this manner, the entire administration can expand its personnel to fit the tasks, as is necessary. This point will be extended further in examining how teachers handle administrative tasks in addition to teaching.

At the beginning of each term, the principal meets with each department chairman to review the goals set for the term and how these are to be

met, giving them both a chance to review the personnel within the department.

At the beginning of the term Sontag met with Soloway about the goals of the art department. First they discussed procedures for establishing a special program. Soloway was to be in charge of. His first goal was to improve the quality of the art program, working on instruction and a couple of teachers a day. They paused to discuss these two teachers, and how they were doing this year.

His second goal was to upgrade the curriculum. He had one project in particular, for which Sontag allocated \$50 from the lost book fund. Soloway also wanted to paint murals in the old lobbies, and above the doorways on every floor, an idea Sontag approved. He also spoke about community art exhibiting, getting his students to display their art in local libraries, banks and stores.

He also wanted to work on an art scholarship program. He wanted to press students to develop their portfolios, encouraging them to take the SATs, and to study art at a high level.

Mr. Sontag said they needed to work several of these things out together, though it would have to wait until later in the year (at this time he spent a great deal of time in court.) He recommended that Soloway look in on Applebaum several times a week to see how he was doing and to check on his organization. He said they needed to work on the art curriculum together, especially the industrial arts. The conversation led to a discussion of art curriculum, especially what should be taught in art appreciation. Sontag suggested he have a written course of study for all his curriculum spelling out what each

lesson plan would be. Then the teachers could select some from one part, some from another, and put together their own course.

Program Chairman

The program chairman is not so much a part of the administration as he is supervisor over the structuring of the school; he arranges the schedules for all teachers, students, and curriculum to be offered. This, of course, requires coordination with all parts of the administration, taking into consideration such factors as special schedules for teachers, due to comparative job, special subjects taught, curriculum as determined by the number and need of the students, legal requirements on curriculum offerings and limits on class size. His duties also include filling out all organizational reports required by the Central School Board.

The program office, by design, depicts the pressure under which the scheduling is coordinated and balanced. As computers have proven to be too costly, teacher time and energy is used at the end and beginning of each term to set up the student schedules. This process begins mid-way through the previous semester, when the program chairman sends a list of possible new course offerings around to the various department chairmen who then, through polling their classes, make projections for enrollment. New course offerings are then negotiated, often with input from the principal.

Meanwhile, the counselors and grade advisors schedule each student for a time to discuss his program schedule for the coming term. Schedules are determined in part by the school requirements, part by a student's personal needs (i.e., a language handicap, perception of what he will/will not be passing, reading level, math level and career aspirations) and input by the

counselor's/ grade advisor's feelings of what the student should be taking. There are usually two bi-lingual grade advisors (one for the Chinese and other Asian students, and one for the Hispanic students.)

With this information, plus projections (using a record book of all classes at Seqard Park since the 1940's which indicates trends in the school curriculum) the program chairman and his staff then set up teacher schedules and class schedules. At the end of the term during exams, the program office takes all pupil cards, filled out on McBee cards and punched by student aides, and code a program schedule, assigning students to respective periods/ subjects. To facilitate assigning students to specific time frames, the program office has set up a huge board, much like the type at a race-track, which can display the entire schedule and class size of all subjects at a glance.

This cycle of assigning student schedules does not end with the beginning of the school term. In addition to new pupil schedules with the influx of new students there are also demands for schedule changes. These taper off by mid-semester, when the organizational report is due, and the program office refuses to change any more schedules.

Due to the size and complexity of orchestrating such mass scheduling, problems do arise, thereby requiring constant co-ordination within all parts of administration.

The Program Chairman is still a teacher, however. As for the two other teachers assisting in the programming office, the position is only a comp-time job, which means periodically others are eligible for that position. The regulations permit a program chairman to give only half of his

teaching time to the job. We have observed, however, that this school position is a gateway to other administrative positions. Two of the vice-principals had been program chairmen in the school at one time. The present program chairman left the school midway through our last year of study to take a vice-principalship at another school.

Vice-Principals (Pupil and Administrative Personnel) and the Annex

The other administrators who work closely with the principal are the vice-principal of pupil personnel and the vice-principal of administration, and the vice-principal of the annex. As all ninth and part of the tenth-grade students are scheduled to attend classes in a separate building, the annex, an administrator is needed to supervise there. Distance from the main building allows for autonomy, but also for negligence. Teachers at the annex are still supervised by their respective department chairmen in the main building but they do not have as close ties with the department. Supplies and mail are harder to obtain, as they must be brought over to the annex from the main building. The nature of the student body creates different kinds of administrative problems, especially disciplinary ones. This age group is less mature than those at the main building, and too young to drop out if they do not want to be in school.

The present vice-principal of the annex is assigned in an "acting" position. Freezes at the central board on hiring, and vice-principals' demands for affirmative action compliance, have slowed the process for converting her to an official vice-principal position and salary.

Managing the annex (900 students) is much like running a small school. Yet, formally, it is still a sub-part of the school, requiring time-consuming

Hispanics as a group are poorer than blacks, since blacks first came to the city during the First World War and have established a considerable middle class and a set of political and cultural institutions. New York has also had a Puerto Rican population since the 1920's, but the bulk of the Hispanic immigrants have arrived since the Second World War and are just beginning to establish their own institutions and to find the potential political power which resides in their numbers. Blacks have established their claim to certain desirable jobs as skilled workmen and in the municipal bureaucracy and unions. Few of the more recently arrived Hispanics have access to such jobs.

These common problems of New York's blacks and Hispanics have given rise to some overt political alliances, particularly in the struggles of the last few years over political governance of the school system. Both blacks and Puerto Ricans are American citizens and thus politically enfranchised, in contrast to the earlier immigrants. The two groups have been united in opposition to the educational bureaucracy and the teachers' union since the bitter, ethnically charged strike of 1969. Increasingly, there has been a direct social alliance between the two groups, as their physical proximity and common political interests have thrown them into direct interaction. The social interaction of the two groups is perhaps most noticeable in the fusion of "soul" and "salsa" musical styles and the mutual appreciation for each other's popular music that has occurred recently.

Even as the social interaction increases, however, the political alliance is becoming differentiated. In the early years of the civil

rights struggle, Hispanics tended to throw their interests in with those of blacks, on whom national attention was then focused. In those years, Hispanics had yet to organize themselves separately and to define their own distinct interests. Now, that situation is changing. In the struggles over the schools, for example, in which blacks and Hispanics have been united in the past, their interests are now diverging as bilingual education becomes a consuming issue for Hispanics but stirs little interest among blacks.

Thus, distinct ethnic and economic boundaries and often physical neighborhood boundaries still remain between the two groups. Cultural differences between the groups include language and family organization. One of the most distinctive aspects of the Puerto Rican population which sets it apart from the black population is the fact of circular migration. As Lewis (1965) noted, in 1960 there was a net migration to the United States of 20,000, though Puerto Ricans made almost a million trips back and forth between New York and San Juan. Statistics show that the fluctuations of these migration patterns correlate closely with the business and employment cycles on the mainland. Jet fares are kept artificially low between New York and San Juan in order to facilitate this process. Puerto Rico thus serves as a labor pool for the New York metropolitan region and thus must be included in the social field of this region if we are to maintain our definition of community as a relatively complete social unit capable of reproducing itself. This theoretical stipulation finds its practical examples in the case of the "Newyoricans", second generation New York born children of Puerto Rican born parents who have returned to Puerto Rico and find themselves with an "ethnic" stigma since they cannot speak Spanish properly

and do not understand life on the island since they have only lived in a big city.

This circular migration of Puerto Ricans continuously serves to maintain the cultural distinctiveness of the Puerto Rican population of New York. In addition, the practice of sending remittances of money back to relatives on the island perpetuates the ties between the populations of the two places.

Until recently, the Puerto Ricans of New York have lacked the degree of political organization evinced by other groups in the city, including blacks who have an established tradition of leadership which is strongly tied to their church organizations. Most Puerto Ricans, both in Puerto Rico and New York, are nominally Catholics but without close ties to church organizations, including the parochial schools. A minority of them have turned to Protestant sects of the Pentecostal type and these groups are very tightly knit, often along kinship lines. The nascence of ethnic political power for New York's Puerto Ricans has been fostered by the anti-poverty agencies, with their Federal mandates for community participation in governance, and by municipal decentralization. In general, however, New York's Puerto Ricans lack both the tight internal political organization of Chinatown and the integration into regular bipartisan politics that one sees among the blacks of Central Harlem. A radical political element does exist, both among some intellectuals as well as in some of the street gangs of the Bronx that have become politicized and have incorporated Third World ideologies. The radical elements are at present a small minority among a predominantly non-politicized group.

Family structure and sex roles among Puerto Ricans, although changing in response to the urban environment, still differ markedly from those of blacks. Puerto Ricans, though somewhat poorer as a group than blacks, have larger families and a greater percentage of families with both parents present in the home. The separation of men's and women's roles is much more emphasized among them than among blacks.

Having now examined some of the characteristics of the Hispanic population of New York and particularly of the most numerous groups among them, the Puerto Ricans, let us focus more closely on the Hispanic population of the Lower East Side. The Lower East Side contains one of the major areas of Hispanic settlement, but there are other Hispanic areas in the city which are larger, and more importantly for our analysis, are more segregated. The largest and most segregated is the South Bronx, and it is from the South Bronx that the first wave of Hispanic politicians has arisen. There is certainly class conflict to be observed in this emergent political process as leaders with upper class manners and connections to the wider political arena compete with local bosses who find their constituency in the appeal to the social clubs which are based on hometown and kinship ties derived from Puerto Rican localities. Despite the class and other conflicts within the Hispanic population, the South Bronx is well on its way towards the kind of political and institutional unification that Central Harlem has acquired after decades of being a segregated black residential neighborhood. The anti-poverty agencies with their mandates for local control have been instrumental in both cases.

The Lower East Side, in contrast, despite the fact that it has an area with a large Hispanic population and a distinct Hispanic flavor in terms of the presence of stores selling culturally specialized foods, clothing, medicines and other items, is not physically segregated the way the Harlem and South Bronx neighborhoods are. The political representation of the Lower East Side neighborhood, similarly, does not evolve from intra-ethnic struggles but from a process of alternating conflict and alliance of different ethnic groups according to the various issues.

The Dominicans. One distinct ethnic group we have not mentioned is the Dominicans. This people constitute a minority within the Hispanic population and are quite often taken to be Puerto Ricans by non-Hispanics, including much of the staff at Sheridan High School. The Dominicans in New York reside chiefly on the Upper West Side and in Queens, but they also inhabit part of the old Italian area of the Lower East Side. They differ from Puerto Ricans in several crucial respects. Puerto Ricans and Dominicans can often distinguish each other by color, dialect, and manners. The Dominicans tend to be darker and more rural in origin, so that they are sometimes derided as "hicks" or "hibaros" by the Puerto Ricans. In addition, they are not American citizens and an unknown number of them are illegal immigrants. They often do not intend to stay long on the mainland and try to send as much of their money as possible back to their island to finance small businesses or buy land on their return. In this respect, they resemble the Chinatown population in the years when it consisted mostly of men trying to send money home and considering themselves as "overseas Chinese." Despite their intentions, however, many end up staying and bringing

over their families. Many are employed in non-unionized manufacturing jobs, like the poor Chinese. They are decidedly more politicized than the Puerto Ricans. Their family structure and sex role divisions strongly resemble those of the Puerto Ricans, however. Within Sheridan High School, we have had several Dominican student informants. The common language they share with Puerto Ricans makes contact frequent, although they also separate themselves actively in several ways. We observed Dominican girls accepting compliments but refusing dates with Puerto Rican boys, for example.

The Housing Projects. For the moment, political power on the Lower East Side seems to be in the hands of the group of white, middle-class people who live in highly sought after, subsidized, high-rise housing projects of the neighborhood, many of which form the eastern border of the Lower East Side along the river. These people are Italian, Irish and Jewish, for the most part, and are descendents of earlier waves of immigration. They may retain very few of the cultural traits of their immigrant forbears, although they are still likely to vote along ethnic lines. This was the group which the teacher's union successfully mobilized in order to oust the Hispanic superintendent of the local school district. Although their numbers are fewer than the Hispanic population of the district, their mobilization was far superior, and they currently control not only the school districts but the settlement houses and other local governmental agencies. (It is important to remember that in New York, the health, education, police, fire and other municipal service jurisdictions do not coincide.)

Puerto Ricans and other Hispanics have recently begun to move into these projects, which now comprise fully half the housing units of the neighborhood. By law, the projects must contain a mixture of low and

moderate income housing, and the Puerto Ricans have begun to occupy much of the low income housing. The moderate income apartments, however, are almost entirely occupied by whites. It is difficult to say what proportion of this group's children attend private schools, but we have been able to observe a rapid decrease in Sheridan High School's white population over the five years of our observations. Several of Sheridan's teachers and staff live in this housing.

The Jews are the most numerous ethnic group among these middle-class whites, and constitute a large majority of the public school staff in particular. In order to understand the role of ethnic identification of Jews in relation to an embracing system of mutually defining ethnic categorizations, we are compelled here to extend our social field outside the Metropolitan area to the national and international arena. The degree and manner of ethnic identification among New York Jews varies greatly, from the militance of the mostly working-class Jewish Defense League, to the religious definitions of the various sects of more affluent Jews, to the completely secular "cultural" Judaism of still other Jews. The point to bear in mind, however, is that Jews are currently very powerful in the local political arena. They occupy a very large portion of the local power positions. With regard to the national arena, however, they are a minority, and their articulation of minority consciousness is well established. The days when the Jews of New York were in fact discriminated against as a minority are well within the memory of living members of the group. Thus, the tradition of ethnic politics in New York derives much of its power from the fact that even the group with the most electoral power at present considers itself a minority. The irony is that discrimination against minorities is regarded as an abomination by most New Yorkers of all

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backgrounds even as they appeal for votes along ethnic lines.

Greenwich Village. Just north of Little Italy and west of the Lower East Side proper, the Village does send a few students, mostly white and middle-class, to Sheridan. In the past a haven for impoverished bohemians and artists as well as an Italian population, the residents today still include some Italians and many artists. The rents have risen, however, and this is now one of the major areas in the city for higher education, night life and the arts. The artists who live there today are established and well-to-do. The newer, younger, and poorer bohemians have been driven East and South, into the lofts of the Lower East Side and even into Brooklyn.

Harlem. Central Harlem and the Lower East Side occupy roughly the same amount of space, have roughly equal numbers and density of population and roughly similar housing stock and about the same amount of ecological closure. Levels of employment and social pathology are comparable, although Harlem has a considerable middle class. Both neighborhoods are primarily residential, although the Lower East Side has slightly more and more diverse kinds of economic enterprise. Harlem has better transportation to heavily developed business areas of Manhattan and a lower level of air pollution since it has less through traffic. The major differences between these two areas, though, are those of the stability and cultural heterogeneity of population. The greater population stability and degree of cultural homogeneity of Central Harlem are the key factors which make Harlem more politically and culturally unified than the Lower East Side. Of the residents of Central Harlem, 94% are black and 91% are American-born. Further, although Harlem is still a traditional first stop for black immigrants to the city from the South and elsewhere, fully two thirds of the population counted in the 1960 census were still living in the

same location as five years previously.

The greater population stability and degree of cultural homogeneity of Central Harlem are key factors which make this area more politically and culturally unified than the Lower East Side. Churches are numerous in Harlem; over 400 have been counted, and they are often quite involved in party politics. Harlem residents vote and have the clout to demand the attention of the city's political power structure. Traditionally, Harlem has had a reputation as the cultural capital of black Americans. It is perhaps no longer the center of Jazz music that it once was, but its dance and theatre productions travel downtown and around the country regularly. The community school districts of Harlem have been far more successful in resisting the organizational power of the teacher's union than has the Lower East Side. During the most recent teacher's strike, for example, the only group of teachers in the city that refused to strike was in one of the Harlem districts. White as well as black teachers stayed on the job in this district. In another incident, during the budget crisis, a fire station ordered closed by the city was kept open through joint efforts of the fireman and the local residents. The anti-poverty agencies are also important in Harlem for social services and community governance.

A great deal of controversy has raged around the topic of lower-class black family organization, and much of this controversy has used Central Harlem as a data base. The high rate of matrifocal households, as reflected in social statistics, was taken by some to indicate a breakdown of the black family. The notion was then challenged as ethnocentric and not based on any examination of social process, that is, any notion of how these families function. More recent work (Stack, 1974) indicates that the matrifocal family cannot be characterized as degenerate so much as an adaptation to economic

circumstances that have often made black men unemployed and their reported presence in the home an obstacle to welfare relief. Further, these variations in family form are related to sex role expectations which have always conferred a degree of independence to black women that may indeed even be traceable back to the market women of West Africa. In our study of organized crime, for example, we found that black organized crime networks, in contrast to those of Cubans, Puerto Ricans, and Italians.

Comparison of the neighborhoods and their populations. Though Harlem and the Lower East Side have similar economic and ecological profiles to a great extent, other socio-cultural factors differentiate them. The population of Central Harlem belongs largely to one ethnic group and has established stability over time, even though younger, upwardly mobile members do tend to move out. The Lower East Side, in contrast, is divided among several ethnic groups and is characterized by a much higher rate of population turnover. Many more of the residents of the Lower East Side are recently arrived immigrants who may still be tied to their point of origin by circular migration and monetary remittances. These people are also more likely to be non-citizens or even illegal aliens and not to speak English as a first language.

Within the Lower East Side, the degree of segregation of various groups in particular geographic concentrations varies a great deal from the relatively closed, though expanding, boundaries of Chinatown to the mixture of poor Puerto Ricans and middle class whites in the high rise housing projects and the area around the school where the old housing is shared among blacks, elderly Jews, Puerto Ricans, and Chinese. There is a major Hispanic concentration above Delancey Street, although the boundaries of the Hispanic area are not as

rigid as those around other Hispanic areas in the city such as the South Bronx.

The ethnic diversity of the Lower East Side is also coupled with a greater degree of economic diversity than is to be found in Harlem. Restaurants, manufacturing, and retail enterprises are more numerous and diverse on the Lower East Side.

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Under the Board of Education plan, there are three types of high schools: academic-comprehensive, vocational-technical, and independent-alternative*.

Some of the academic-comprehensive schools are competitive, thereby restricting enrollment according to ability. Others, such as Sheridan, restrict enrollment through the feeder schools assigned to them. Other students wishing to attend these schools must get special permission or prove they are moving to the communities which feed students into the school. The feeder schools for Sheridan come from Harlem and the surrounding area of the Lower East Side as described in the community chapter

The resulting ethnic population for the school is:

Total No.	Black No. Pct.	Oriental No. Pct.	Spa. Sur. No. Pct.	Other No. Pct.	Year
4630	1161 25.1	714 15.4	1810 39.1	945 20.4	1971/2
5075	1268 25.3	785 15.5	2056 40.5	948 18.7	1972/3
4953	1274 25.7	863 17.4	1913 38.6	902 18.2	1973/4
4211	894 21.2	798 19.0	1910 45.4	606 14.4	1974/5
4159	797 19.2	868 20.9	2080 50.0	414 10.0	1975/6

As can be noted, besides the overall drop in students attending the school, there has been a shift in the proportions representing each "gross" ethnic category. The decline in the white attendance has to do with white-flight tendencies, aging of certain white ethnic populations so that there are fewer children, and the increase of the proportion of white children who attend private schools. Oriental ethnic groups and Spanish-surname ethnic groups have had a rise in the number of immigrants over the past few years. The drop in the number of black students at Sheridan is based on political problems with the feeder schools from one of the community districts assigned to feed into Sheridan. A political upset between Puerto Rican and black community groups caused one school to be closed. The opening of a high school in

the Bronx pulled many students from another feeder school, thus diverting more black students away from Sheridan.

Teacher assignment comes from the Central Board, selected by scores on competitive examinations and from rank-order lists of eligibilities. The particular composition for Sheridan is:

Year	Total No.	Black		Oriental		Sp. Sur.		Other	
		No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
1971/2	234	5	2.1	8	3.4	13	5.6	203	88.9
1972/3	231	5	2.6	10	4.3	10	4.3	205	88.7
1973/4	209	6	2.9	9	4.3	10	4.8	184	88.0
1974/5	180	4	2.2	9	5.0	10	5.6	157	87.2
1975/6	156	6	3.8	7	4.5	8	5.1	135	86.5

While the ethnic breakdown percentages have shifted over the past few years for the students, the same is not true for the teachers of the school. As can be seen, the distribution of teachers across ethnic categories has remained fairly stable.

More than 86% of the staff, however, have over five years of teaching experience, which explains why this group is more stable. The overall staff composition of the school (from the last year of our research) is as follows: (2 principals**, 12 assistant principals (which includes department chairmen and vice-principals), 139.5 teachers, 8.6 guidance counselors, 12.3 secretaries, 3.3 other professionals (library staff) and 1 assistant stockman. The other high school personnel are paid on an hourly basis, which can include: instructional paraprofessionals, security guards, and others (such as school aides, school lunch helpers, parent-program assistants, family workers, family assistants, and family associates.) The school is allotted

a certain number of hours to use in hiring people for these positions. The allocation of this time is, to some extent, left to their discretion. For instance, to understand all the structural aspects of the functioning of the school, it is necessary to know the determinant of these. In part, the curriculum, staffing and other school processes are determined by the school budget. The composition of the budget comes from various funding sources, all of which depend upon various funding formulas. As these formulas calculate funding according to school or regional specific characteristics, these characteristics (such as attendance rates, student SES, native languages, and become determinants for school resources.

In this fashion the school is controlled/governed by various external bureaucracies which, in giving money, also gain the right to regulate the use of these funds. They specify how the money can be spent, such as limiting the number or the qualifications of people who can be employed, what can be taught, and so forth. The major areas that fund (and thus regulate) education are: Tax-levy funds, special state-aid funds, and federal funds (though special programs). All monies come through the Board of Education; the main bloc of funding comes from local taxes, which are apportioned to the school by city government.

Tax-levy money is allocated to the high schools by the Board of Education according to the achievement test scores and attendance data at the school. Specific teacher allocation and curricular programs are determined by these factors and by the curriculum index, as calculated through the organizational report.

State monies are purposely allocated in recognition of the state's respon-

checks and coordinationg regarding procedures. Much of the business transpires over the phone when the vice-principal calls the principal for advice on a problem or the final word on a policy.

The vice-principal of pupil personnel is also in an "acting" position replacing a woman* who had recently retired. Her job is to oversee the counselors, the grade advisors, the deans and various federal program pupil personnel. She must also determine how to handle various student problems that are sent to her office: transfers from one school to another or from one borough to another, gang problems, dropouts or home problems.

She must become a repository for all the administrative regulations on discipline, on programming and on counseling. She must also oversee the collection of student information: attendance figures (which involves daily attendance recordings), free lunch/breakfast records, student records, and additional student information for various government forms. She must become an advocate for the students during administrative meetings.

She also supervises all extracurricular activities for students, specifically the clubs and advisors (such as for the Student Organization, ARISTA, Chinese Culture Club), student assemblies and ceremonies, and occasional student-administration meetings (such as the curriculum council). She frequently becomes involved with parent-school problems or student-teacher problems, when they come to her for advice or decisions.

*Mrs. Weissman 's reputation and policy stands remained long after she retired. In fact, the principal would suggest she be consulted if a procedure or action to be taken was not clearly defined.

Lastly, there is the vice-principal of administration, who supervises the details of managing the school: supplies and materials, coordinating with security, salaries, secretaries, maintenance (the custodial staff is a separate aspect of the high schools, supervised directly from the Board of Education) and all the comp-time positions. His supervision of them and resource allocation interfaces with the program office. He works closely with the principal, as he oversees the management operations. Therefore all reports, as the organizational reports, H.E.W. reports, Basic Educational Data Survey, must come through him, though he assigns them to others to be handled.

As security of the school is a major problem it takes up a lot of his time. The ramifications of security problems fall between the two vice-principals, while the vice-principal of administration focuses on keeping order, the vice-principal of pupil personnel focuses on discipline (such as suspension) and related problems. For instance, when the school was faced with a potential intergang fights, the Dean of Boys reported to both vice-principals on keeping the tensions down enough to avoid any outbreak of violence. While Mr. Shulick was concerned with school safety (and therefore wanted the names of the students in order to suspend them), the Dean was concerned with protecting his ties with the gang members; therefore he protected them so that he could bargain with them.

There are additional administrative structures within the school which fall partly under the supervision of the school principal and partly under the supervision of the central Board of Education. The custodial staff, supervised by a head custodian, has a direct line to the Board of Education

and is not supervised by the Principal. Problems over this arrangement came to a head during our observation time in the school: both within the school and within the entire custodial structure of the school system. The newspapers exploded with reports of corruption and embezzlement permeating the entire custodial system.

For the principal to have things done in the school depends on his relationship with the custodian. The principal has no direct power with which to order things to be done. His only line to the custodian is through the Board of Education, which is a very indirect route. At one point the principal wanted the intercom system repaired. According to procedures, the custodian can let out a contract to fix things in the school. He is in charge of finding someone to do it, and is given a fixed amount of money to finance repairs. If the job can be done for less than the budget, he can pocket the rest of the money, which is why there is so much corruption within the custodial staff.

In this particular incident, through the details of what happened are not clear, the intercom system still does not work, though it cost several hundreds of dollars to repair. This incident put a strain on the relationship between the custodian and the principal, especially since the school could not afford any more repairs, but needed the intercom system. The same organizational arrangement exists for the supervision of the cafeteria workers and the security guards. There seems to be more shared supervision of these two administrative lines, possibly because they need the help of each other (staff and administration) to avoid student-related problems.

Overseeing Instruction

The developmental lesson plan is a tradition in the school as a measure of evaluating the staff's performance, and as a means of standardizing instruction. In a broad sense, according to the principal, any type of logically developed lesson falls into this category of plan. In brief, the developmental lesson plan consists of an aim, a motivation for the aim, the lesson, in which students are actively involved through questions, summary, and a homework assignment which should tie into the next day's lesson. All teachers are to have prepared lesson plans for each class. Some departments as the history department have designed an entire year's curriculum for each track of a particular subject, based on the parts of this plan.

Ideally, all departmental chairmen are to be sure their teachers use this plan for the classes. Moreover, the principal himself makes a point of checking all new and "problem" teachers on their use of this instructional technique. He uses a supervisory checklist (example: did the class start promptly, is the aim clear and worthwhile, are transitions made by students, does he use the blackboard, have questions phrased) as well as taking notes on what the teacher is or is not doing, of the students and their behavior, and of the classroom (is it neat, etc.) Often, he will slip into a class unannounced and sit in the back taking notes on what is going on in the class.

After an observation session, the department chairman or principal, depending on who supervised, will meet with the teacher and discuss the lesson. The teacher is given a chance to discuss her/his plan. The principal will compliment and criticize the lesson plan and the general class atmosphere, offering suggestions for improving the lesson.

Supervision of instruction takes place in areas other than the classroom observation sessions. Many departmental meetings and faculty meetings are taken up with the reinforcement of this plan or the instruction of mechanisms for implementing this model. For instance, the executive council may discuss the criteria for homework to be handed in by students. The product of this discussion may be a circular to the teachers on homework or a faculty meeting topic on homework criteria.

In addition to improving teaching, supervision of the developmental lesson plan serves as an evaluation of teachers. Once a teacher has tenure, he/she can only be removed from the job if he/she receives an unsatisfactory rating (U-rating) on teaching performance, which would demonstrate unfitness for the job, unless the teacher were to leave the school voluntarily or were to transfer from the school.

Since the principal has given out a great many U-ratings, we found the teachers felt threatened by the observations even if they were good teachers. Those whom the principal felt were poor teachers according to his standards could expect frequent unannounced visits from either the principal or the department chairman.

Others felt inhibited by the format. Peculiar problems have arisen in trying to apply this model to all areas of curriculum instruction. Learning styles differ from student to student, and more so among the different types of ethnic groups. Teachers found that students from HongKong or Asia were not prone toward class participation, a crucial element of this plan. They had learned not to talk in class, which made it difficult for the teachers to initiate students' active participation in their learning. Other prob-

lems depended on the type of curriculum. While history and science lend themselves to this plan, math is much more difficult to fit into this model. For instance, it is more difficult to find a motivation for an algebra lesson. (more of this will be discussed under curriculum.)

Security and Order

This becomes an important problem for the school, for without order and school safety, instruction cannot go on. Due to the size and location of the school, the school often has many "intruders" roaming the halls. The school system has come to use a student's program card as an identification card. Any student found roaming the halls must show his program card or be escorted out of the school as an intruder. The cards are also used to let students in and out of the cafeteria at lunch time; they must prove lunch is scheduled for them at that particular period.

Specific security problems do plague the school: false fire alarms, students congregating in the bathrooms and stairwells, occasional intergang problems, and irregular disciplinary problems. The school is patrolled by security guards who work in cooperation with the school deans and vice-principals. They communicate to each other by walkie-talkie, alerting each other to problems or calling for help. Some guards are posted at strategic areas: school entrances and cafeteria. Others patrol the halls at regular intervals, checking potential problem areas (like corridors in the basement where students come to smoke dope.) School aides assist the security guards in monitoring problem areas, as in the cafeteria, where they supervise student behavior.

United Teachers Federation

Another regulatory body is the teachers' union. Through contract stipulations, the teachers can establish their rights. Through the union, the teachers have a mechanism for insuring and protecting those rights. This school system in particular has a long history of a strong, active union. Even now, their union leader has a national reputation for protecting "his teachers".

The history of the UTF at Sheridan has been tumultuous, since Mr. Sontag came, though less so, the longer he has been principal. During Mr. Sontag's first year at Sheridan, he ran into his greatest difficulties with the union. At this time the local UTF chapter was co-chaired by two men, John Rodriguez and Frank Tucker, the former of Spanish and Puerto Rican descent, and the latter, a Protestant. These two were soon in a posture of overt conflict with the principal and his new, stringent disciplinary procedures towards students, and, more importantly for the UTF, teachers. Mr. Rodriguez told us in an interview that he first tried to work cooperatively with the principal but found that impossible. Mr. Tucker makes no such claim and has become the only one of the principal's bitter opponents from those years to remain in the school, till he becomes largely ostracized by the remaining faculty, and later left.

Mr. Rodriguez had been both formally and informally charged by the previous principal with a great deal of responsibility for the school's Hispanic students. The new principal, however, distrusted Mr. Rodriguez for his known association with a political, Puerto Rican group within the surrounding school district. Mr. Sontag stripped Mr. Rodriguez of his formal

and informal duties toward the Hispanic student population. In particular, he refused to allow Mr. Rodriguez to advise an Hispanic student group called Aspira which had requested him for an advisor.

At the UTF election the spring after Mr. Sontag's arrival, Tucker and Rodriguez were voted out. The new chapter chairman, Mark Rauch, was a young Jewish male who ran on a platform claiming that he would "work with, not against" Mr. Sontag.

During the next year, the principal's opponents experimented with various tactics of opposition channeled through the union. The struggle among Sheridan's teachers over whether the union should be a moderate or opposition hinged on some peculiar local circumstances. It is no exaggeration to say that the current political alignments of New York City teachers are the result of the aftermath of Ocean Hill-Brownsville and the 1968 strike. Mr. Sontag's reactions to Mrs. Rodriguez as an alleged associate of one of the political groups involved in this strike is one example of this. When we first entered the school, those teachers who had not gone out on strike in 1968 were ostracized by their colleagues. The early opposition to Mr. Sontag was given a peculiar twist because the first teacher to protest his policies was one of these ostracized scabs. Union members would not support her in anything, even though many were sympathetic to her protest. Thus, Mr. Sontag was able to fight his early battles without much interference from the union.

By the end of the second year of his administration, Mr. Sontag's opponents had ceased to oppose him throughout the union, most had transferred out of the school, and the struggles moved to the courts and the anti-discrimination agencies.

Mr. Sontag's manipulation of the union is now highly effective and is based on his own considerable experience in the UTF during its formative, ascendant years. He himself is an ardent union man, though he now belongs to management. The coincidence of these two roles in Mr. Sontag's person is also typical of the wider system. The UTF and the Board are much closer together than antagonistic since 1968, and both of them are allied in opposition to the school's clientele. The ethnic ideology underlying this opposition of school people and community groups is quite powerful.

Other Social Agencies

Other agencies are involved with the school, though more in a task-sharing relationship rather than as regulatory agencies. Thus, horizontal organizational interactions do exist. Due to the ambiguity of school goals, especially in the socialization of students, and the incompleteness of its ability to resolve social problems on its own, it tends to overlap with other social agencies: Police, welfare department, settlement houses, and such. Problems over procedure and such are inherent with this type of arrangement. For instance, when should the school bring the police into a discipline problem, and when should the school protect the child from the police (privacy act)? If a child is on welfare and not attending school should he/she be reported? If a girl is pregnant, how should she be counseled?

Sometimes an informal arrangement is worked out between the school and some of these agencies. The vice-principal of pupil personnel used certain private social agencies which she would suggest to pregnant girls. One in particular offers services in health, legal aid, psychiatric social services,

and nutritional services, and is used for student referrals on an informal basis. Moreover, if some older students were causing trouble in school, the guidance department might suggest the student drop out of school and work, though attending night school classes at one of the neighborhood settlement houses.

On very rare occasions, other agencies are brought in to expand the school's educational resources. At one time they tried to implement a museum school, which would have taken advantage of the museums in the city. There is a cooperative program for some students, in which the student works part-time (the school finds the placement) and attends school part-time, on a specially arranged schedule. In addition, the school trades teacher-training experience for student teachers for an expansion of available teacher staff.

The school/parent relationships are very weak. At one point, the principal and vice-principals took it upon themselves to find a parent to be president of the Parents' Association, to prevent the organization's becoming completely defunct. The school does try to encourage parental participation, usually through scheduled parents' nights each term. The school is opened both afternoons and evenings at this time. Many announcements are sent to parents in three languages, to accommodate the multiethnic population of the school.

Ties with the Chinese community have been strengthened by the new Chinese bilingual program. One facet of the proposal requires community input. Therefore the teacher-in-charge, Mrs. Pam Yeu, has made a concerted effort to reach parent and community groups in Chinatown, such as holding meetings on Sundays when the people do not have to work.

Goal Setting

Though the school may seem to function on a day-to-day basis, the principal has overriding goals he is trying to achieve. In fact, much of his behavior can be understood in relation to these goals. Below is a summary of some he has worked toward since he came to Sheridan; coupled with examples of how he has carried them out. This will illustrate how the goals relate to what happens in the school, as well as the amount of discretion he has in his role.

The first he described as improvement of administrative organization. This has to do generally with how things are run, particularly in terms of organizational efficiency and of enforcing school rules. For instance, by implementing a stricter regulation of free lunches at the cafeteria, by collecting lunch tickets from those eligible for free lunch, he was able to exclude a great number of interuders who had been hanging around the cafeteria. This made the school more secure, prevented waste of school money, and quieted down the cafeteria.

Another example is the reorganization of the programming of the entire student body at the annex. This was done so that the students would be there for only six periods and no lunches were to be served, except those eligible for free lunch. In this fashion, he was able to reduce much of the bedlam in that building. Both these structural changes were within his power to implement.

A second goal was better allocation of space. The school is overcrowded, though much less so now than when he first came. He looked for ways to better use the space he had relative organizational problems.

Through the use of dividers in the large secretarial office, he created mini-offices so the secretaries and office workers were cut off from each other and could work without talking to each other.

A third goal focused on the problem of textbook collection, which may seem like a minor problem, but it entailed 3,000 uncollected books per term, leading to a cost of \$50,000 from state aid funds. The cost as well as the inconvenience of not having textbooks at the beginning of each term created procedural and instructional problems. He started with the chairmen, requiring them to maintain inventory on their stock and books. Finally, he initiated a policy whereby students were not allowed to register or receive their report cards until they had returned their books from the previous term.

His next goal was to improve classroom management. This is carried out directly and indirectly, for he himself observes numerous classes. Moreover, classroom management procedures are constant agenda items for executive council, faculty meetings and departmental meetings. Typical items might be how should a teacher use the Delaney cards; what should a teacher do if a student comes in late or wants to leave the classroom to go to the restroom; how should attendance be taken.

He also wanted to institute departmental goals. These are both goals he wanted to work out with each department chairman and goals he had in mind for each department. They varied from management goals to curricular goals. For instance, he revised the guidance department's manpower allocation. He took the guidance person, in charge of new admissions, and replaced this person with a teacher for only two periods a day. This reduced the cost from 1.2 teacher positions to .3 teacher positions.

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Many of his goals are carried forward, characterizing much of the work he currently does. Achievement of these goals must be understood in terms of the constraints on him, either by resources, by regulations, or by cooperation.

Predictable Bureaucratic - Specific Characteristics

Before we outline the informal administrative behavior patterns observable in the school, we want to point out peculiarities characteristic of the formal structure which would influence the informal behavior.

Lipsky (1976) describes these kinds of administrators as members of the "street level" bureaucracy. Besides working fairly constantly with the people as a part of their work, these administrators tend to have fairly extensive independence in their work within the bureaucracy. Hence the idea that the school functions as a closed system. Yet these administrators have limited control over what they affect, though they may have extensive influence. Their work is thwarted by high expectations, demands of their own performance, and the fact that generally, working with people is highly unpredictable.

Many problems come as inherent in the job environment: inadequate amounts of available time and resources, ambiguous expectations, often demands for discriminatory treatment as well as fair treatment. As these variables are fairly constant (for schools never have enough time, money or personnel to do an "adequate" job), the administration finds mechanisms to adapt to and cope with the conflicts between demands made on them and what they can actually achieve. According to Lipsky, this is how stereotyping of "clients" becomes institutionalized, as administrators attempt to find shortcuts, to routinize, or to simplify work and decision-making.

Moreover, administrators may even redefine the population being served (through stereotyping the group's characteristics or their needs) which works like a sorting mechanism in handling a workload. The paradox is that while bureaucrats may institutionalize bias, it may be without necessarily recognizing the implications of their own actions. This has clearly been a tendency in the high school, for coping with a multi-ethnic student population can lead to unmanageable complications. Reducing the student groups to ethnic characteristics (stereotypes) (such as: suggesting the Chinese students are more co-operative than the other ethnic groups or paralleling the Chinese and the Jewish value orientation) simplifies the decisions that need to be made about how to handle student problems when they arise.

It is necessary to understand the relationship of the constraints of the job, coupled with the limited amount of control over the outcomes, to the resulting behavior and treatment of the 'client' groups. The 'client group' in the school should not be limited to faculty-student interactions, for the administration has similar problems (and thereby uses similar coping techniques) with relating to teachers, to the community or with the external bureaucracy.

There are other types of coping mechanisms which attempt to achieve individual or group purposes. These too must be understood in terms of given organizational constraints: time, money, multicultural ethnic student body bureaucratic pressures from the Board of Education and from within the school.

The formation of networks and power coalitions may be best understood in terms of the components of Blau's exchange theory. This theory will only be used to illuminate the informal organization, but in no manner does it

summarize all the dynamics we have observed.

1) Social attraction is the force that induces human beings to establish social association on their own initiative and to expand the scope of their association once they have been formed. (p. 161, Blau, in Larson, ed.)

According to the formal structure of the school as has been illustrated, the vice principals and program chairman must interact in order to accomplish their jobs. The ease at which this is done depends on each individual, however, so there is much discretionary leeway. In addition, as is characteristic of the entire administration of the New York City schools, most of the administration is Jewish, which, to some extent, predisposes them to a common value tradition.

The social attraction among much of the administration and the faculty has a tradition based on their historical experience with the school system. Their personal histories, as second-generation immigrant Jews, gives them a strong bond. They had similar struggles against prejudice and through their own merit were able to work into the school system. At that time there were strict supervisory examinations to be passed as well as language exams. For these reasons, they have ties throughout the bureaucracy of the school system, as they all have gone to school together and worked their way up through the administration together. Now they are a majority group (within the system) faced with new minority group struggling with the system, which only serves to remind them of their own struggles into positions. The commonness of their roles also serves to reinforce association.

Formal roles predispose individuals to different perspectives of the school. It is no wonder, then, that one would find the paraprofessionals

all eating together in the cafeteria (or sometimes even in a separate room), as well as the administrators and factions of teachers all eating in the same cliques in the cafeteria. In the same vein, one rarely finds a teacher or administrator eating with the students, except to supervise behavior.

2) Processes of social attraction, therefore, lead to process of social exchange. (p. 141)

For application to be made to the school, social attraction should be conceived in a broad sense. Formal organizational positions do require interaction, yet how these interactions are negotiated is important. Each person can determine his own degree of cooperation, as will be explained further.

It is interesting to note that many administrators and teachers have family members elsewhere in the school system and administration. This has become such a common phenomenon that the school system is formally surveying this each year. In one incident, the appointment of several principals to positions in one district was held up as it was discovered that they all were friends, belonging to the same synagogue, political group and living in the same area.

3) Exchange processes, then, give rise to differentiation of power (this depends on needs and ability to service needs) (p. 162)

This process depends on what can be exchanged. In the school, factors such as space, time and, though rarely, money, are exchangeable commodities measuring degrees of power, deference, or collaboration. In some ways the administrators are able to make use of the "old boy system". More than one administrator in the school started out as a program chairman; comp-time

jobs become a testing ground for administrative recommendations. Therefore the handing out of these jobs can function as a reward for those who aspire to move up.

Time rewards may be in the form of alleviating a teacher from "official class" duty, or designing a teacher's schedule so he/she does not have five consecutive classes or does not have too many preparation classes (the more variety in the classes one teaches the more one will need to prepare each day.) Money rewards are related to access to new supplies and equipment, though discretionary money is severely limited within the school. During the fiscal crisis, these funds were cut even more. An important source, the Lost Book Fund, was removed from the school, which took away an important source of 'free' money. Its function as discretionary funds was missed more than the actual dollar amount. Moreover, the administrators resented this tight budgeting on the part of the central Board.

Space, in an overcrowded school, is more precious, and less available for exchange. Rarely can space be given out, though it has happened. For instance, the drama teacher was given the use of the auditorium for his classes (his was the only class allowed on the first floor, except for the gym classes).

The principal and vice-principal of personnel have the greatest control over these resources, though they can only grant them. They too must negotiate with the Central Board for space or for resources. For instance, at one time the Central Board wanted to close the alternative school because the space was too costly to maintain. The school administration planned out alternative locations for the school in an attempt to avoid closing it. Mean-

while the principal was able to have the closing date of the school extended, giving them (the school administrators) more time to negotiate for other space for the alternative program.

4) Differentiation of power as a collective actuation evokes contrasting dynamic forces: Legitimizing processes that foster the organization of individuals and groups in common endeavors: and countervailing forces that deny legitimacy to existing powers and promote opposition and cleavage (p. 143)

Sometimes the power exchanges work for the school overall. Though the teacher-in-charge of the Chinese bilingual education program got little initial support on her application for Title VII funds, her role and status in the school changed dramatically when she was funded. She was given a bilingual office space, which increased her autonomy. Since she gained almost a quarter million dollars of resources for the school, she had more power, gaining staff and being supervised little. The quality of her work is greatly respected by both the school administration and by people outside the school, which adds to her legitimacy and input in bilingual matters in the school.

In contrast, the "dump the principal" campaign (see the section on structure) served as a powerful obstacle to the principal, draining much of his administrative time. The power of this group was limited, lacking the support of the rest of the faculty. As they left the school, their power died, ending when a new person was elected to the UFT chapter chairman position.

Coalitions are formed to achieve certain ends. Sometimes these serve as resistance groups, as in the case of a small coalition among certain department chairmen. The principal was quick to identify this force and was

was able to take it apart by co-opting certain individuals on his own. He is very suspicious of those who try to gain too much for their own department or try to build up a singular importance for their own curriculum.

Other people gain power solely through cooperation, without being coopted. Many of the teachers seem to handle their jobs in this fashion. This is done by teaching according to the developmental lesson plan, having few disciplinary problems, and working on their own projects, thereby not putting any more demands on the system than necessary. The bilingual teacher can do this most easily, for they are difficult to supervise (language barrier) and are working with the most problematic student groups. The drama teacher is another example, for he puts in a great deal of personal time and effort helping the students put on a dramatic production. Since he gets no remittance for this extra time, the principal supports him by granting privileges (being excused from meetings, provision of art materials for advertising, being allowed in the building after hours).

Finally, there are those who negotiate through their own co-optation. They allow themselves to be used by the administration in hopes of some reward (such as promotion or extra privileges). They try to learn how to work with the administration, taking extra time to use the teaching models and seeking advice from their supervisor. They will seek out responsibility.

5) There is a strain toward imbalance as well as toward reciprocity in social associations. (p. 165)

Factors that lead to reciprocity are not clear. Discrimination does occur, but more in favor of those who help the principal in achieving his goals, than along any other lines. As pointed out before, the principal and vice-principal of administration have more resources to wield power,

thus placing the balance in their favor.

Resentment over the ability of the principal to manipulate members of the administration or of the faculty does arise. At one point, the principal combined two departments (English and Speech) thereby removing one department chairman from his position. The chairman appointed to head this new department (Mr. Fischman) was forced to give up one of the programs he had designed (it was put into another department, to keep this new department, Communications Arts, from being too large). He resented losing the program and being placed in such a political position with the old, now ex-department chairman. Moreover, the new department was cumbersome to reorganize, due to the greater number of teachers that now needed to be supervised. Yet, the resentment was offset by his respect for the principal's efforts in making the school safer, thereby preventing it from becoming a "non-school" as so many schools in New York City are being termed. In fact, many of the faculty appreciate the principal for this effort, as they often will remark.

Summary of Points of Tension

Above we have discussed the structural/organizational problems for administrators of a school in a particular system. The following are some of the specific problems facing this school.

Leadership Role

Mr. Sontag in his role as a leader focuses on two aspects: being visible and being a master teacher. His visibility is carried out through direct supervision of the teachers, through patrolling the halls for students and for custodial problems, and by being involved in the problems of the school. He is very careful to respond quickly to any communications, problems, or misdemeanors.

As a master teacher, he strives to improve the quality of education in the school from as many points as possible. He prides himself on his own teaching experiences, and will occasionally teach a class in the school. He will not only observe and evaluate the performance of teachers, but will also offer advice on designing and carrying out lesson plans. In an indirect fashion, he will work with the department chairmen to do the same things with their departments.

The tension arises as his intent becomes misunderstood or resented. His manifest action of improving education in the school has a latent function, that of evaluating the teachers, which threatens their job stability. In addition, the previous principal was very lax with the teachers, rarely observing the classes and never giving out an unsatisfactory rating. The sudden change in administrative style, from a very relaxed system to a very strictly regulated one, still causes tensions.

Record Keeping

The bureaucratic paperwork has become an albatross for the school, with no sign of improvement. Twelve secretaries work under the vice-principal for administrative personnel handling the forms, weekly calendars, student records, budgets and so forth. The purpose of recordkeeping is supposedly for efficiency and evaluation, yet it has become an end in itself. Federal, state and Board of Education forms have become increasingly time-consuming, as they require data on ethnicity, class size, attendance, teacher background, and expenditures. More and more types of school-wide tests are given each year to determine language needs, math and reading deficiencies, eligibility for graduation, and such. As the vice principal lamented:

"Of course we need parsimony. We need to avoid as much clerical work as possible. The school has twelve secretaries and, if left alone without having all these reports to tend to, I could really simplify it and get down to the instruction that a school is supposed to be functioning for."

The program chairman agreed, saying that everything is an administrative monster.

Attendance

Attendance directly affects funding for the school, at all levels of government. Therefore record-keeping of attendance figures is crucial, yet cumbersome, depending on the accuracy of the teachers, the school officials, and the students.

Attendance keeping is complicated by cutting problems (which is another whole system of paperwork and recordkeeping). If a student is absent for a certain number of days in a marking period or cuts a certain number of times from one class in a marking period, he/she automatically flunks that subject that term. It then becomes a disincentive for attending school.

Attendance record-keeping is also complicated by the high turnover rate of students in the school and the number of non-registered students who drift into the school during the semester. While the school's total register stood at 4,159 (10/31/75) the average daily register for the school year was only 3,812 students, which is an attendance rate of only 69.6%. The admissions rate as a percent of the average daily attendance is 21.9%, while the department rate (including dropouts and transfer students) is 37.3%.

By the time graduation comes, only a fraction of an initial class will receive their diplomas. For instance, in 1976* 421 of the 738 twelfth graders graduated, though only 86.5% received diplomas. It is interesting to note that almost all of these went on to some type of college (four-year or community college.)

The school allocates certain comp-time positions to deal specifically with this problem of cutting. One teacher works three periods a day as a "cutting dean," which entails calling parents and sending notices home about the child's attendance records. Moreover, the school now uses tri-lingual notices to be sent home to a parent if a student is excessively absent or cutting school.

*Even the twelfth grade class is but a fraction of the size of the 10th grade class.

PUPIL DATA**

Register 10/31/75:
4,159

Average Daily Register, School Year
1975-76: 3,812

ETHNIC COMPOSITION (BY GRADE)

	Black		Oriental		Puerto Rican		Other Spanish		Other		Total	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Grade 9	133	26.2	9	1.8	323	63.7	14	2.8	28	5.5	507	100.0
Grade 10	310	16.1	405	21.0	915	47.5	140	7.3	157	8.1	1,927	100.0
Grade 11	197	20.5	247	25.9	374	39.2	25	2.6	113	11.8	955	100.0
Grade 12	148	20.1	205	27.8	261	35.4	11	1.5	113	15.3	738	100.0
Special	10	31.3	2	6.3	16	50.0	1	3.1	3	9.4	32	100.0
Total	797	19.2	868	20.9	1,889	45.4	191	4.6	414	10.0	4,159	100.0

(Some junior high schools have 3 grades 7-9) so many high school students don't come until the 10th grade. This explains the difference in size between the 9th and 10th grades.)

** School Profiles, 1975-6, Board of Education, City of New York, February, 1977

Curriculum and Programming

It is obvious that the program office is central to the school's organizational structuring. Through its record-keeping and various organizational reports, it determines the teacher allotment and curricular offerings. With this it determines the student schedules and teacher schedules.~ As one vice-principal stated:

"That's what I like to do, because there is where you really get to build an organization."

What it actually does, theretically, is to structure the movement of people through time and space, while serving as an important source of social control.

Discipline

Old rules against such behavior as wearing hats in the school, smoking cigarettes in school and cutting class, are still discipline problems.*

As is becoming characteristic of all urban high schools, there is now the threat of physical violence as well as other disciplinary problems. As a result, more school resources and time have been put towards security and order. During strenuous periods, such as before a holiday break, additional

*Periodically the principal reminds the faculty about this rule, as the following extraction from a November, 1973 weekly circular illustrates:

Friday - November 30

1. End of Second Marking Period
2. Reminder to All Official and Subject Teachers on Wearing Hats in School

Some of our boys have taken to wearing hats. Sheridan, like every other high school in New York, has a rule against wearing hats. Although we are cognizant of changing social mores, our rule is designed to direct pupils into acceptable behavior patterns. One of the aims of education is the transmission

teachers are drafted to patrol the halls, according to a standard emergency schedule. Bathroom sweeps are increased and overall discipline is tighter, to keep the school under control.

Threats of bombs or false fire alarms create school-wide problems. Handling these has become procedural, though it may not always be the safest method. During a bomb threat, certain faculty members are to check the school and then call in an 'ok' to the principal's secretary. The students are not notified of the problem. During a possible false fire alarm, the main switch is automatically turned off with the first ring and the area of the alarm is searched before the entire school is forced to evacuate the building. Both of these problems divert a great deal of time and energy on the part of the administration. Worse still, they must fill out Central Board forms on all incidents of this sort.

Thefts have also become problematic (not so much of school equipment,

of our cultural heritage, and it has always been a sign of respect of the individual for his school or his institution to remove his hat. We would be remiss in preparing pupils for participation in life beyond the school if we did not counsel them in positive behavior patterns.

In sustaining this general position, State Commissioner Nyquist ruled: "I find that no constitutional protection exists for the wearing of a hat in a classroom. Unlike restrictions on length or style of hair, the regulation . . . has no effect upon the private lives of (pupils) outside the school . . . the individual learns by observance and by participation . . . Surely a show of courtesy is a small but important amenity in a society and its schools which are already less humanistic than they should be . . . To urge otherwise is educationally unsound and degrades the quality of life."

I know I can rely on you to use your influence with pupils to comply with the school regulation, supported by headquarters and sustained by the State Commissioner.

but of transportation passes, worth an estimated \$300 apiece) and program cards, which give students illegal entry in and out of school, classes or the cafeteria.

Labor

As has been described historically, labor/management problems have reduced considerably during the principal's tenure at Sheridan High School. Now few grievances have gone past the step one level of appeal, though the principal is still caught up in labor problems of the past as they are being worked out in court. Current fiscal problems have crippled much of the union's power. Many teachers throughout the system have been excessed or laid off, causing uneasiness and low morale for those still teaching.

Conclusions

1. The school is formed through a network of funding sources and regulations. Through these one can see how the school is tied to and controlled by the outside bureaucracy: The Board of Education, the State and Federal Government, the Teachers Union and other interested agencies.
2. The role of programming should not be underestimated. The program can be very revealing of the processing of students, the status of certain individuals or subject areas, current funding trends, and changes in regulations.
3. Discretionary power can be determined by examining the areas of latitude in the bureaucracy: bureaucratic processing, curriculum, evaluation, and territory. Through these channels one would find rule-making and rule-breaking to exist and be exercised.

4. Often it seems that the specific educational goals as well as achieving them are accommodated to available funding trends. This is true in part because the school has little leeway in funding all the goals it sees fit, therefore, tailoring its goals to those which are currently "fundable".

The school system itself seems to adjust the curriculum to follow or to accommodate current social trends. It is no surprise that value education classes for faculty as well as students followed shortly after Watergate. Other curricular trends are in response to federal pressure: increased attention to special education for the handicapped, nondiscriminatory treatment of students (either racial or sexual) and increased attention to affirmative action in placement of students in curricular tracks.

5. The informal organization has a distinct purpose. Unlike the academic debate over its possible interference with the formal organization, we found the formal organization to be just one other organizational characteristic.

The interrelatedness of the school's organizational characteristics, relative to the individual goals can help illuminate and explain seemingly biased political behavior. The need for efficiency, the pressing need of many school and student problems lead to coping mechanisms as illustrated previously: sorting (stereotyping), territoriality, rule-making and rule-breaking, and a heavy reliance on social networks.

(This day is a compilation of several incidents that occurred in one week. This is not an exaggerated chain of events, but represents a typical day. These incidents were chosen to display a cross section of interactions of the principal.)

Every morning is like a ritual. He drives down from his home in Riverdale, parking the car in the small space behind the school when he arrives. He usually breezes in the side door of the school as close to eight o'clock as the traffic will let him. Part of the ritual is to walk into his office, unpack his briefcase, hang up his coat and hat in the closet, reach for his shaver, and head down to the men's room to shave before his office is bombarded with teachers and administrators.

This morning Stanley Friedman came in as Sontag was unpacking his briefcase. (Stanley is a history teacher and security guard co-ordinator. He is an old friend of Mr. Sontag's, and came to Sheridan High School when Mr. Sontag did.) Mr. Sontag looked around the office as he was unpacking his briefcase. Complaining about his office not being cleaned, blaming the continuation of a custodial protest. As he took out a sponge to clean off his table top, George came in with a rag and cleaned off the table top. He and Mr. Sontag talked about the dirtiness of the office and the school. He kept repeating to Mr. Sontag that the custodians could only clean every other night, that he did two, three times as much work, that all the men did. "We can't work without the people the building needs to have. I like a clean building too". Mr. Sontag put off his comments saying he wasn't the problem.

About that time Felix (program chairman) came in to talk with Sontag about a statement he was preparing for his interview as assistant principal. Sontag complained to him about his custodial problems, accusing the head

custodian of being the leader of the strike. Felix replied by asking for the letter of recommendation. He slumped down in a chair next to Mr. Sontag's desk while Sontag went over three points necessary for an assistant principal position: personnel management, security, and the issue of a centralized vs. decentralized school.

The lecture didn't last long, for Sontag left for a bit to go around the halls checking to see how clean they were. He would stop by classrooms, look each room over, and tell the teacher to send a note to his department chairman complaining the room had not been swept. He shook his head over bits of paper that lined the halls. Worse trash was in the stairwells, there were empty coke cans, bottles and paper were strewn about.

As he got to the first floor, (he goes up to the 5th floor and works his way down) he saw a student going through the main doors. He stopped and asked Henry King (used to be head of Peer Group and is now a security guard) to tie the doors to keep the students out of the main corridor. Next he stopped by the custodian's office.

The custodian was in, watering his plants, in fact. Sontag warned him that a lot of teachers were going to be complaining to him today because their rooms had not been swept. The custodian replied calmly that the rooms could only be cleaned every other day, that those were the new regulations. It was all part of a work action, and he wanted his people back. Sontag didn't stay to argue the point, but walked out.

As he returned to his office, he found Penny Ottaman (vice principal of the annex) and Rebecca Shapiro (guidance counselor) waiting for this morning's suspense hearings, tentatively scheduled at 9:00. At that moment Dr. Weinberg (dept. chairman of music) rushed in from his recent conversation with a teacher

at the annex. They all talked about the teacher, how he couldn't handle a class, or any of his classes. He is a difficult teacher, having been assigned to the school during the excessing of teachers. Penny complained that she needed a security guard to watch the classes of this and another teacher's "because the kids come bouncing out of the room so much." This gave her a chance to complain about the lack of space at the annex for study halls. Since Mr. Sontag had observed this teacher the day before, he had some input, especially concerning the lesson plan. They all sat around joking about how the class should have been taught, and how narrow the aim was for such a large group of students. (The teacher had tried to teach the different sounds of an instrument using records for a class of 40-60 students. Needless to say, he could not hold their attention). Penny said Nemus felt the kids didn't respect him because the administration doesn't. Weinberg replied that he had talked with Nemus about trying to work with the administration. Sontag interrupted saying "we are all derelict. We should give him 10 lessons and then have him pick seven." But Weinberg said he had tried this.

At this point Rebecca Shapiro came back in (she is the guidance counselor for all the students at the annex, except those in the college discovery track. She is a middle aged, heavy-set woman). The conversation turned to that of the suspension for the day. Weinberg left, while Rebecca and Penny discussed the student coming in. They both thought he was a "real smart kid", but that he was a "bad apple", one no one would ever suspect.

Apparently, the student had insulted a teacher by sticking an umbrella point into the neck of the teacher. The teacher had been very upset by this, fearing that his life was in danger. The mother of the student had

gone to the district attorney and found out the school was not allowed to bring up the past history of the boy. The boy had a history of violent behavior, dating back to the first grade. During his school career, he had assaulted a teacher a couple of times with a knife and even been brought up on charges of stealing. Yet, Penny explained the parents continue to blame the school for the boy's problems and do not take responsibility. Even in elementary school, the boy's behavior had caused him to be transferred to another school.

Apparently, the boy's father had come to the counselor's office the day before, but had become very difficult, and finally got up and walked out. Thus the suspense hearing was today.

Penny wondered aloud what they were to do with the boy. Angel Torres, a Puerto Rican, was coming in today with his mother and a civil liberties lawyer. Before they were to be called in, Mr. Sontag wanted to discuss the procedures and their recommendations (he, Penny, and Rebecca) so they could present a unified front. They reviewed the incidents and other teacher evaluations of Angel. Angel had three pink slips in his records: 2 from Nemus, and the third was the incident for today. Two teachers had given good reports about Angel. Mr. Sontag discredited both saying one taught by having the students write everything down from notes covering the board and, that the second was a big strong guy (insinuating the student wouldn't tangle with him because of his size). Rebecca: In view that he is 15 1/2, should we put him on probation? Sontag: How about suspend? Rebecca: Yes, he is now. Actually he had been suspended since the day before, and today makes the second day. Penny: He told me himself that he couldn't control

his temper. Sontag: Maybe he needs help. Yes, refer him to something else. Sontag then outlined who should talk first, and again stated that they needed to present a united front. He concluded by stating: "and as for the philosophy of support, I don't think you should always be supportive." Here he looked at Ruth, who nodded in agreement (He complained later that she was often too supportive of the students).

At this point Sontag called the others in. Angel sat down at the table next to Maloff, the lawyer, Lenard Kramer, next to him and the boy's mother sat at the end. (Mrs. Torres was a little short woman who had to sit on the edge of her seat to stay in the discussion). Judy and Ruth sat on the other side.

Judy began by saying this was only to be a hearing. She then reviewed the pink slips, describing two slips in terms of aggressive behavior in music class. The third was the incident at hand. Angel, as the slip read, had been asked to stay after class because a student had thrown a lit cigarette. When the teacher tried to make Angel stay, he pushed an umbrella at him. When Mr. Maloff commented on the teacher's fear of injury from this action, Angel laughed, saying it was a lie. (Angel is a slight boy, dark curly hair and clean in appearance. He has an assertive nature about himself.)

They all began arguing about the details of the incident. Angel said he used the umbrella as a bat, while the mother demanded other witnesses, especially the teacher involved. The lawyer and Sontag agreed that even swinging the umbrella was dangerous. At this point, Angel was asked to leave the room and Maloff began talking to the mother.

S: Every parent has a different philosophy in supporting their child. In my point of view you're making a big mistake. Your boy has good potential and a great record.

K: I think you should say this in front of the kid.

S: (toKramer) I have, and you should know me well enough. (to the mother again). Here is a kid with an elementary school record. I've rarely seen one as bad as this (as he passed the record over to Kramer). Angel's record is so bad that he had two records to record all the incidences. Here is a young man seriously in need of help. His conduct at #56 (one of the feeder schools) was so intolerable. Here is the first case that crossed my desk, the first case of a student to transfer from #56 to #60. Moreover, he has a police record. This kid is bright but I do not put too much emphasis on smart.

K: You know the Nazis were smart, but we didn't go around saying they were smart.

S: (continued) We should give our mother and father a source of pride. I'm not interested in the law, I'm interested in the human being. I'm concerned with saving a human being.

Ruth was upset, wearing a frozen expression. Meanwhile, Kramer read over the student's records, commenting on technicalities. The conversation returned to the incident. Kramersaid he had spoken to Angel about his behavior. Sontag said he had too, pointing out to Angel that when a teacher says to stay, his job is to stay. He then reflected on an old Jewish folk tale, that "if a cat had kittens, they'd blame me."

K: The teacher asked Angel to stay to ask about the incident. Angel said was excused. What bothers me about a situation like this, when a teacher knows a student, it is hard to believe.

He then asked for a copy of the statement. Sontag , by now, had gotten up for a cigar. Kramerchanged his line of speaking to that of the teacher. He argued the point of whether or not the teacher had been pushed or had pushed the student with the idea of try to test the students.

K: It's my experience, a teacher who knows who it was could have at least let the student go and reported it later.

S: It is interesting. You build on an assumption. An assumption about the teacher. When Angel was transferred from #56 to #60, it's because he threatened two teachers with a knife.

K: I didn't know about the past but do know a significant amount of these problems.

(Penny was very excited now and kept trying to interrupt.)

P: You are working under an assumption that we are aware of the record.

K: The applied teacher could've known, even if the teacher didn't lay hands on it and even if we accept it, this does not give Angel the right to lift the umbrella or carry a knife.

He talked about past issues he was involved in. Sontag began talking about social agencies that the school could refer the boy to, to which Ruth commented. Sontag asked the mother if she would like to comment, as she had been very quiet up to now. Though her English was not very good, she was very agitated.

Mother: They blame everything always on the parent and I blame the school. It's the school that pushes him.

S: How can the school be to blame? He was absent 19 full days last year and sixteen half days. That means he was out of school on 35 days. That's over 25% of the time.

K: Then why is he in the ninth grade?

S: He failed. He failed a number of his subjects, three or four.

Mother: That's the teachers fault. They put him back in the 7th grade from the 8th, and when he is in the 9th, they put him back to the 8th. The school keeps playing with him like that. I'm sick now and he's smart, too. The school pushes since the first grade. And I teach him. What'd they do to him, he's so smart.

Sontag attempted to explain the system of credits and grades toward graduation. But Kramer said the real problem was a matter of dignity.

Mother: It puts him outside when they do that. Even when he is sick he goes to school. Any longer he loses interest in school.

She mentioned that she had been taking him to Catholic services.

Rebecca was very surprised to hear this, asking how long they had been going and if both the mother and Angel were going. The mother said they had

been going since Angel had been in the first grade and that the counselor was Sister Anne. Meanwhile, Sontag had gotten up and walked around a bit. When he sat down, he brought the discussion back to Kramer's assumptions about the teacher, replying that it is too much trouble for a teacher to look up the records on every single student.

They then talked about the possibility of sending him (Angel) to a vocational school. Sontag asked the mother if she would want him to go.

Mother: If he wants, I like. He must want.

S: Is he a perfect child?

Mother: Yes. Yes he's perfect. (She paused and reflected a moment, and then said) No, nearly perfect. But I'm not perfect and you're not perfect.

Sontag interrupted saying: My mother never came to school. I was never absent, never late.

K: You shouldn't be a principal, you can't appreciate human weaknesses.

Sontag defended himself, by illustrating with his own son, and asking Kramer and Penny if they ever had to go in for their children.

Then he backtracked to the vocational school idea again, saying he would look into it.

K: You look into the name of a school, and what about ASPIRA? Aren't there services for the children and students?

Sontag to the mother: Now I want you to talk to the best counselor at this school: Mrs. Shapiro.

K: We should have Angel return.

They called him back in. He sat down. They asked him if he would want to go to John Lindsey H.S. and they summarized their discussion for him. Somehow, report cards came up and his mother said she had never seen his report card. When Kramer asked Angel about this he said he never received one.

Rebecca criticized: If you weren't there, then you couldn't get one.

Angel responded about having lost his books, so they wouldn't give him his card.

Kramer asked Angel if he would like to transfer, then asked him what he wanted to be when he grew up. Rebecca talked to him about his counseling experiences and ASPIRA progress. Meanwhile Kramer turned to Sontag asking to speak with the two teachers involved. Sontag refused to pull the teachers out for half a day, but said they could walk over to the annex and speak to them there. Kramer asked about the high and low marks on the boy's record.

Rebecca turned to the mother saying, (almost in exasperation): don't you see that this is encouraging him to misbehave? He sees himself as a victim.

Sontag dismissed everyone, saying they would meet over at the annex. As everyone left, Kramer and Sontag waited until after the official class, meanwhile standing in Sontag's office discussing the technicalities of suspending a student. Kramer made a few phone calls, during this break. During this time, Felix came in to show the registers to Mr. Maloff. (These are estimates for a final attendance report used to calculate the number of teachers the school will need. The calculations are tricky for you must be careful not to over or to underestimate your need.) So as Sontag was praising Felix, he told Kramer what a genius Lewis was.

Kramer asked about Edith Weissman, (ex-vice principal of pupil personnel). They reminisced a bit, Kramer recalled the student case when he first met Evelyn. It had been about twins that used to pass for each other.

At this point Kramer and Mr. Sontag began to walk over to the annex. It is a very cold, fall day, very overcast. Sontag talked about his history

with Sheridan, rattling off the crime statistics for the school when he had first come, and the fact it had all changed since he had been principal. He spoke lightly about his court cases, where he had been accused of being anti-female, and anti-Christian. He chuckled, saying he couldn't be accused of being anti-black since he had written an article for UFT chairman on the history of Black Education and the history of Blacks.

They reached the annex (several blocks from the main) and took the elevator to the third floor, walking to Judy's office. At this point Sontag took Kramer aside and explained why Nemus shouldn't be called in. The discussion drifted to the Board of Education's problem with Lazarus (a principal who had gone to court because he would not fill out the H.E.W. data forms on ethnicity) and that the Board had even asked Kramer to find some reason for them to get rid of him.

Penny met them in her office and took everyone down the hall to the teacher's room. A couple of students were in there sorting materials and filing them away. While Judy had them leave, everyone else sat around the table at one end of the room.

Mr. Levin (the teacher of the umbrella incident) had come now and told how the incident occurred. He explained he had asked Angel to stay, to ask about the incident, not that he was accusing Angel. He said Angel had become violent when blocked from leaving, this was when he raised his umbrella against him. He said he had never struck the boy or pushed him.

Angel now wanted a chance to say what happened from his point of view.

Angel: I was doing what he was saying--we were all talking in a bunch, but he said I did it and I got angry because he blamed me and it was different at the door than what he said. He blocked me and he bumped into me and I raised the umbrella. There was another kid that bumped into you (this was to the teacher).

Kramer: Well, we'll get your friend down here.

Angel: No.

Kramer: What do you mean, no?

But Angel just sat there very firmly saying no, that he wasn't going to get his friend in trouble. At this point, Penny got up behind Mr. Levin, dramatically saying: I know this teacher, I know him pretty well and he was really shook up. In fact, I saw him after the incident, (In this fashion she tried to defend Mr. Levin's legitimacy.)

Angel got very angry, though still controlled, saying they would believe whatever the teacher would say, and accused Mr. Levin of lying. At this point Mr. Levin got very excited, while Angel remained relatively cool. Kramer started picking on Mr. Levin, asking if he had taken any child psychology courses, but Mr. Sontag stopped this type of questioning. Angel kept talking: "If he pushes me, I can push him. No one pushes me around!"

Kramer turned and asked Angel about his behavior in Mr. Nemus' class, to which Angel admitted, rather casually. He qualified his actions by saying that Nemus doesn't teach in there and that all the kids scream. Nemus came in at this moment and was questioned. He recounted several incidences of Angel's acting out in his class. The two of them began arguing about Nemus' interpretation of the incidences. Finally, Nemus got very excited, Angel sat there with a teasing smile, looking from Nemus to Sontag who, by now, was getting very irritated. Nemus was finally dismissed, and Sontag said that nothing more could be gained in pursuing the points Kramer was pushing.

Everyone got up and left, without any real discussion about what would happen to Angel. They all stood in the halls for a moment, then Kramer left with Angel and his mother. Sontag and Penny talked a moment about the situation

until she had to respond to a call on her walkie-talkie (these are how the security communicates around the building.) She dashed off to see what was happening. Sontag stopped to look in on a few teachers as he was leaving. He stopped by the room of a teacher who was grading papers, and told her to get up and work with the students. He stopped by the second floor at Mr. Levin's room to speak to him a few moments. He thanked him for his co-operation. Further down the hall, he stopped in a room where a lot of yelling and screaming was going on. In the background one could hear sounds of a classical music record as well. A school aid stood in the hall near the door of the classroom, and Mr. Sontag talked with him too, as he left the classroom.

He walked back to the office following his same route to the main building. It is now the middle of fifth period, so he made some phone calls and got caught up on his paper work, before going up to lunch during 6th period. He called around to some of the schools to see if the boy could be relocated. [A week later I asked Judy about the boy who had been suspended (Angel Torres). She said he was back in school, in fact, she had seen him laughing with his friends about beating the system and getting back in school. She said all the teachers had been alerted about him and that any kind of behavior should be reported. She said he had refused to go to John Lindsey High School, and so they were keeping a sharp eye on him. He had been behaving well, though he had been taken out of his official class where the incident had occurred.]

About 12:30, he took the elevator up to the fifth floor, joking with the elevator operator on the way up. In the cafeteria he bought a light lunch (occasionally he diets and watches what he eats) and surveyed the cafeteria. A few scattered groups of teachers were at tables around the room. A group of department chairmen were at the front table, but Mr. Sontag

chose to sit at a side table with Mr. Caslow and Dorothy Henderson who were finishing their lunch. (Department Chairpersons of history and science respectively).

The conversation drifted over the day's events: custodial problems, suspension hearings, and Dorothy's attempts to get a new chemistry teacher (due to excessing of teachers, city-wide, the school had lost a chemistry teacher who had low seniority. Unfortunately, the teacher had not been replaced with a teacher with more seniority, and Dorothy had to spend a great deal of time trying to find one through the Board of Education.) After they left, Mr. Sontag finished his lunch and walked around the cafeteria stopping to say a few words to teachers. As he left the cafeteria, he walked down the halls, in his own manner of patrolling. On the third floor, he saw two tall black boys ahead of him. Quickly he tore down the hall after them. Mr. Caslow was at the other end of the hall and stopped them, so Santog slowed down and walked up to them. Both Sontagand Caslow asked for their program cards, but they said they didn't have them. They looked at Sontag as he did them, not seeming to be the least bit intimidated. Sontag and Caslow conferred for a moment, and then Sontag told the boys he would walk them out. They looked at each other, and went with him.

Part way down the stairs, at a landing, Sontag stopped watching them and looked out the window. At this point the boys slipped away, either down and outside, or onto another floor. When Sontag realized what had happened, he quickly ran down the stairs. Up ahead, he could see one of them slipping out the front door. When he reached the first floor hallway, Sontag opened the front door to see where they had gone, oblivious to the students outside. They, on the other hand, noticed him, especially a group of boys playing

dice across the street. One who had his back to the school. At a cue from a friend, he instantly stood up, instead of rolling the die as he was poised to do. He stretched up and down a few times as if to draw attention away from what he was really doing. Sontag wasn't paying any attention, for he was looking up and down the street for the two that got away. At the same time, he stopped a group of boys from entering the school, telling them that ten minutes past the hour was too late to go out for lunch, but they slipped past him anyway.

Back at the office, Felix was waiting for him. They talked about the procedures for a grievance, and the fact that the department chairman didn't know how to program a department. (Mr. Sontag had been in a grievance meeting the day before over the scheduling of a teacher, and found that the department chairman did not have a system for programming his department.) Sontag demonstrated his technique for programming, showing Felix the grid he used. Felix asked about teachers who needed special time for special jobs when considering how to program. So the two of them calculated and found that about 20% of the teachers in the school had special jobs.

Felix left, and Sontag did some more of his desk work.

Mr. Caslow came in to complain about a class he had just observed as well as about another teacher that Mr. Sontag had recently observed. Mr. Caslow asked Mr. Sontag how the class had gone, to which Mr. Sontag complained that all the teacher did was to yell at the students when he talked. Mr. Caslow pointed out that it was an improvement over the way the teacher used to mumble. He said he was working on that teachers motivation which is what engages the interest of the student leading to the aim of the lesson.

They discussed ways to work with the teacher, and were glad that the teacher was at least receptive to advice. Caslow then described to Mr. Sontag the class he had just observed. Mr. Sontag was able to guess who the teacher was. The phone rang, and Mr. Caslow left. (It is almost time for the cabinet meeting.)

Judy came in while Sontag was still on the phone. She breathed hello and left her coat on one of the side chairs, going into the outer office to talk with Joan for a few moments.

Mrs. Hellman (vice principal of pupil personnel) came in and sat at the large table. Soon after Milton Drucker (vice principal of administration) and Felix came in too. Penny had already sat down next to Mrs. Hellman.

The discussion began over the procedures and forms to be used in case a student had an accident at the school. They were concerned about the forms that would relieve the school of any responsibility in case of an accident. Penny complained that the hospitals wouldn't touch a child without parental consent. She described having to go down to the hospital for a child of hers that was bleeding. She suggested they get some kind of forms for the students to be filled out at new admissions to take care of this.

Mr. Sontag said he wanted to talk with them on the conference for improving procedures for suspense. He wanted to try something radically new, relating all the suspense hearings he had been having lately.

Penny commented on having seen a lot herself. (Since she is at the annex, she sometimes handles the suspense hearings, though this is against Board of Education policy.) Sontag corrected her, but she replied that she had seen 90 the previous year. Sontag went on to discuss the six suspense

hearings he had had in the last couple of days. "I sent one kid to John Lindsey High School and one kid to Betsy Ross High School. Maloff: Like God scattered the seeds, six kids and six headaches. He also reported that he had finally nabbed the kid that had run away from him and had given him a two day suspense "He didn't get into this office before I had that slip written out on him."

Mrs. Hellman: "I wish we could get the phantom bell ringer."

The talk switched to curricular change proposals, and the possibility of sending down to the headquarters for an automobile shop. Though Sontag said he was tired of giving the Board options of how to put such a shop in. Milton suggested: Well, how about an elevator, where you just have a hydraulic lift lowering the car down?

They liked this idea, and talked about the basement space problems. Lewis asked if they had given up the idea of using space from across the street.

Maloff: That would be asking for more space and the Board would say no, especially when they have all these schools that are half empty. But we have a good argument for it. There are no live automotive mechanic shop classes in Manhattan.

The discussion moved to other curricular proposals. One was a course in animal world for the slow kids, suggested by Dorothy Henderson (science department chairperson). They decided not to call her down to explain. Apparently she was suggesting two new course offerings. The other course would be organic chemistry (for the Honor students). They thought this would conflict with physics, especially since both courses would be pulling from the

same small base of students. From discussion they decided it could be offered in the spring, since then it would not initially compete with physics, which is a year long course offering, and cannot be flunked mid-term. Milton pointed out this course would help improve the academic standing of the school. Felix tried to argue against it, and Mrs. Hellman and Milton tried to argue for it. Milton said it would fill the hole in the second term, complementing the first term of history, for these students.

Felix said it would pull too much from physics and mechanical drawing; "theoretically there are only 49 kids, maximum that we can draw from for these special courses. You can't kill physics."

The conversation switched back to the special labs (animal world and organic chemistry) they would need. Mr. Sontag pointed out that he had asked Solowey to stop the photography classes for a couple weeks to move the wood out of the class, so they could have a decent photography room. He suggested putting the wood in Mr. Schaefer's closets (he has recently retired from Sheridan) as well as the bikes, "since they are not harming the environment, we should encourage the teachers and show that the administration supports them, though we should give them a safe storage space."

Everyone smiled at this. Milton suggested the old TV room. But Sontag said they would use that for something else.

Mr. Caslow came in to talk with Mr. Maloff about something. While he was there, he was teased about his new clothes [Mr. Caslow has been on weight watchers, losing a great deal of weight. This is a topic of many conversations].

They returned to the former conversation about curricular changes, with

Mr. Sontag assigning Milton to take care of Soloway and Dorothy Henderson. Felix meanwhile continued to argue about the losing population. (referring to the small population of honors students) arguing that these were the same kids who doubled in math. They began talking about how one department shouldn't have a monopoly on these students. but that one person should not be encouraged to be imperialistic.

Mrs. Hellman said she liked the idea of animal world, though she wondered what they would do with the animals and where they would get the cabinet space. (animal world would be for the modified track) They argued over the courses these kids needed, such as another term of math, as Mr. Levitz (dept. chairman of math) had recommended to Penny. Felix argued that the statistics said that another term of math made no difference on the regents. Milton suggested looking at the statistics in another fashion, that the school was able to hold the same though the population has been changed, concluding that there is really an improvement.

Felix said these kids should really be in accounting, to which Mr. Maloff said that the whole purpose behind record keeping is to teach computational skills. And he talked about the quality of teachers in the department.

They talked about the automotive shop again, with Sontag saying he would get Soloway on it today, if it would "kill" him.

Sontag: There is one other thing I have to ask you about and this is about a Title IV proposal request. It's a communication on needs that reflect state priorities and a demonstration and validation grants. There's about \$5 1/2 million available state-wide. One area I got an idea on is

the alternative to pupil suspension. And I finally decided to disagree with you. If ten people said you're wrong, I stop, you know that about me. What I was thinking about was having a class for the emotionally handicapped. They will give you two teachers, and eight people to a class, with one person there.

Felix: Self-contained?

Sontag: Yes. What I'm proposing is an alternative to suspension. You know I've never believed in suspense, usually I get them transferred. What I am thinking of is this. I can suspend under circumstances. But then there are cases where a kid is fundamentally salvageable. The kind I want to suspend are those that are catatonic or have a history of assaults or things such as that, and these kids cannot be helped by being suspended.

He then talked about circumstances where the parents think their child is just perfect, though "he beats up his grandmother and kills his sister" and the mother still says "he's such a beautiful kid". He related it to a Jewish story and simultaneously to a violent student in the school. The Jewish story was about a girl someone was trying to pass off, without telling all her bad points.

Milton pointed out the school uses some of the facilities at the auxiliary schools and that Sheridan might lose the right to send some kids there if they had such a program. Maloff said they would protect those right.

He then complimented Penny Ottoman on identifying the problem students early, unlike the previous v-principal of the annex who would wait until December or January before doing it.

Felix said the teachers for those type of kids aren't very well qualified, drawing from an experience of a friend. Milton argued against what this type

of class would do for the rest of the school. So they argued over the type of kids that would be put in such a class, joking that they could put them in the closets. There was quick discussion over the cleanliness of the school, at this point.

Milton suggested that they request a composition clinic for the Chinese students (referring to the Title IV proposal requests), and Sontag told him to see Pam Yeu. Judy brought up the problems in Chinatown (apparently there had been shooting in Chinatown the night before). Sontag said he had checked it out and that it had not been their kids. Penny complained that the police should co-operate with the school because there were some gang members in the school. Milton agreed saying they would tell you if a child were epileptic. (drawing an analogy to this incident)

The meeting was drawing to a close, and Milton talked with Sontag about secretarial services and giving out the uniform exams. He complained about the amount of paper work Caslow was causing, but Sontag said he wanted to encourage him. "He's really taking care of that department and really pushed those people. He has turned that department all around, and I am going to encourage him."

Mr. Drucker left to run off a copy of the Title IV request for proposals. After everyone left (it is now the end of the school day) Mr. Timberlake (a teacher in social studies) stopped by asking for some of Mr. Sontag's time. Sontag greeted him saying: "come in Dave, I always like to talk with you!"

Mr. Timberlake explained he needed to take a day off two weeks from that Monday to go to a hearing. Apparently he was on a committee for zoning in his neighborhood and had been the one asked to go to the hearing. Mr.

Sontag asked if he were taking a personal business day. Dave replied no, that he wasn't thinking of asking for that, that he would do it without pay. Sontag replied: What you are doing is a civic duty and so it's personal business. It's not like you're going to Florida, like some people. You go ahead and take a personal business day. As Dave was leaving, Sontag said, "you know I interpret the PB (personal business) requirements liberally. What I am tough on is the malingering, so I'm not doing you a personal favor out of our friendship, and I think of you as a close friend and colleague. What I'm doing for you I would do for anyone." At this Mr. Timberlake left.

Marsha Finney stopped by, saying how good the transition was working out (she lost some of her teachers to grade advisor positions, causing her to change her teaching staff schedule around to accommodate new teachers borrowed from other departments.) He commented on how she was shaping up her department, and how well some others were doing too, like seeing changes in teachers, such as Paul Schwartz and the way Mr. Caslow worked with him. "Those guys have a tough time in moving their department along."

He then asked her if she had ever sat in on the peer group, especially if she had noticed the people there, such as Peggy. Sontag: "I don't like that Chinese guy, but there're a couple of Italians that I really like. You know they're healthy people."

Marsha: "Oh, yeah? I've been meaning to go in and look at that."

He suggested she go down there and see what she could work out with them, especially with Peggy.

It was quiet now, after she left. He ended his day, staying almost a half an hour longer, making phone calls, and writing memos and notes to

people in reference to things that had happened that day. He always made a point of responding to things as soon as possible never letting any work back up on him.

Analysis

To travel with Mr. Sontag through his day is to see how he carries out his goal objectives. As stated, one of these is to keep the building clean. As he has no direct control over the custodian, he must use different methods to complain about the cleanliness of the school. One way is to have the teachers complain. Meanwhile, the custodian is trying to use union pressure to affect change at the Board of Education, so that Mr. Sontag's complaints become secondary. (Mr. Sontag also thought this custodian was working for a promotion, so he did not try to pull too many "strings" at the Board of Education to pressure the custodian. Later the custodian did leave for a new position.)

The suspense hearing demonstrates the increased cultural problems as brought together in the discipline case. On the one hand is the Puerto Rican mother with some awareness of her rights (i.e., using the civil liberties lawyer) who tries to defend her child from the bureaucracy. On the other hand, the school tries to protect its faculty from physical harm. Mr. Sontag and the administration present were noticeably torn in how to handle this situation, for they wanted to protect the teacher, to enforce discipline, but not be unfair to the student. Clearly, they did not know how to work with the mother, as can be seen by some of their comments to her and by the manner in which they would periodically ignore her during the conversation.

There is a point at which the school cannot handle a problem. The fact that they never really reached a decision over how to place Angel demonstrates this.

Cultural problems involve more than language or child rearing differences. With a changing student population, the school is becoming extremely bi-modal in its academic distribution. The curriculum discussion at the cabinet meeting illustrates the focus of new courses for these two extremes. To maintain its academic standing, they try to develop curriculum for the honors students. Yet they also need to develop courses for the "modified" group of students. Even still, as their discussion process showed, the focus on curricular problems includes an eye on other school problems: limited space and resources, political in-fighting among the various departments, and possible outcomes.

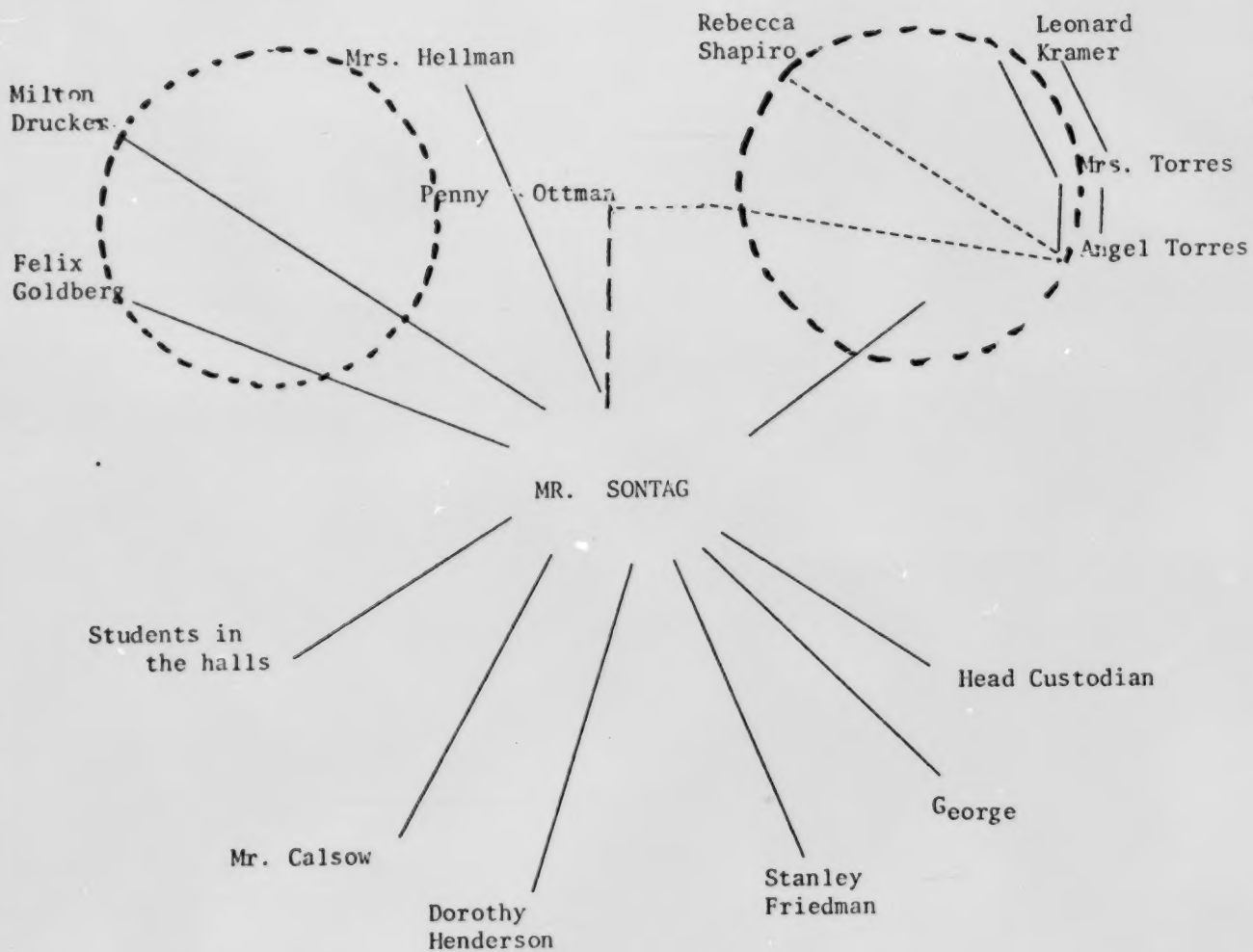
Federal monies give them a chance to explore possible solutions but in a very limited manner. In the end, lack of individual time and experience in proposal writing prevented anyone from actually applying for additional funds, though they developed many ideas for what was needed.

Characteristics of Mr. Sontag's network of interactions for that day are broken down to those that are strictly formal and those that are a mixture of formal and informal. The suspense hearing represented a very formal interaction setting for Mr. Sontag, yet he seemed to develop informal ties with Mr. Kramer, as can be seen by the casual conversation they would have.

Other relationships function as both formal and informal depending on the situation, as demonstrated by Felix Goldberg. Felix seeks Sontag out for

advice and reward. Yet at the cabinet meeting, all the participants become more formal, each person vocalizing his own opinion. Casual formal relationships can be identified by the informality of the interaction. Since they all must check with Mr. Sontag about procedure or feedback, the close working relationship provides the groundwork for close informal relations.

Mr. Sontag has very few people in the school who are "strictly friends". Stanley Friedman is one, for he comes into Mr. Sontag's office at varying times during the day, more often to find out what is going on in the school than to discuss business.



Note: The circles represent the two major events

CHART OF DAY'S INTERACTIONS

Curriculum

Curriculum Overview

The curriculum and scheduling of a school can reveal the products of social patterns and adaptation. There has been a dramatic change in the student body over the last fifteen (and even ten) years, both in the size of the student population and in the type of student attending the school.

As an introductory document to teachers of Sheridan High School states:

In September of each year, approximately 1000 students are admitted from the neighborhood schools, most coming from Junior High School . . . Large numbers of students come to us all through the school year, most from Puerto Rico and Hong Kong, though many come from other countries as well. About 25% of our of our student body were born outside the continental United States. Those students who lack adequate command of English are assigned to the Language Core Program" (p. 2., Preliminaries)

In fact, the Oriental and Spanish-surnamed students are now the majority groups within the school.

Below are two tables comparing the enrollment and ethnic breakdown figures on Sheridan High School across 13 years. From 1962 to 1972 the student population of the school expanded by almost 2,000 students, and later declined by about 1,000 students. The ethnic distribution has shifted radically during this time period from a majority of 68% white students in 1962 to a minority of 10% in 1975. In addition, while the school had no Oriental students in 1962, they now make up over 20% of the student body.

These dramatic changes put a great deal of pressure on the school to accommodate itself to them. Adjustment for size of the student population could be difficult enough, in trying to maintain reasonable class sizes and enough teachers. These population shifts have included major ethnic redistributions as well. Since two of the groups require bilingual education, they have required very specialized curricular adjustments.

Sheridan High School
Enrollment and Ethnic Distribution 1962-1968

	1962		1968		Percent Change
	No.	%	No.	%	
Enrollment	3,105	100.0	4,099	100.0	+32.0
Black	458	14.8		19.8	+ 5.0
Spanish Sur- name	537	18.3	1,268	31.0	+13.7
Oriental			594	14.5	
Other	2,110	68.0	1,425	34.8	-18.7

*Forging a Future for the Lower East Side: A Plan for Action; Abels, Schubert, & Assoc. N.Y., N.Y., December 1970.

Sheridan High School
Enrollment and Ethnic Distribution, 1972-1976

	1972		1973		1974		1975		1976		Percent Change (1972-76)
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
Enrollment	4630	100.0	5075	100.0	4953	100.0	4211	100.0	4159	100.0	-10.2
Black	1161	25.1	1268	25.3	1274	25.7	894	21.2	797	19.2	-31.4
Spanish Surname	1810	39.1	2056	40.5	1913	38.6	1910	45.4	2080	50.0	+14.9
Oriental	714	15.4	785	15.5	863	17.4	798	19.0	868	20.9	+20.6
Other	945	20.4	948	18.7	902	18.2	606	14.4	414	10.0	-56.2

* Data available by permission from the Office for Civil Rights, D.H.E.W., Delta Research Corp., 1976.

Within the system, there is an overall low pupil performance level. For instance, in 1974 only 37% of the New York City students in the 9th grade scored at the ninth grade level or above on the Metropolitan Achievement Test. Comparatively, the national sample had 53% at the 9.0 level or more. For this reason, we looked to see how the curriculum has been adusted to handle this changing population. The previous section on the community of Sheridan explained more extensively the characteristics of each ethnic group in Sheridan. The radical changes both in size and in ethnic composition explain in part the difficulties such a school would have in adjusting instruction.

Special Programs

Outside the regular curriculum, the school has a wide variety of special programs, either alternative or supplementary. We noted the wide range of special curricular programs offered at the school, carefully observing the type of program designed and the students who chose the program. The special programs proved to be one means of adjusting to the learning needs of the student body. Since the student body is so large, they were able to offer a variety of curricular programs instead of simply adding or dropping specific programs which they also did, and which will be described later.

Educational Alternative Program (EAP)

As the student program bulletin described the situation which promoted EAP, "Some students, for a variety of reasons, find the normal school program unsatisfactory. The EAP program has been created for these pupils." In actuality the school is for truants, offering a smaller school environment, closer relations with teachers, and an abbreviated schedule (five instead of eight periods a day). This school program is located near the financial district in New York City, far from the main building. The program offers special classes in reading and a limited number of subjects, many with "open classroom" instructional styles.

College Discovery and Development (CDD)

This program is jointly operated by the City University of New York and the City Board of Education, with partial funding under Title I (ESEA). It aims to "discover and develop" disadvantaged, under achieving ninth grade students with potential, and prepare them for college. Each borough has a program and this one services all of Manhattan. The program has had an overall success rate of 92% being admitted to City University, State University of New York, and private colleges, often with scholarships and financial assistance.*

The program couples course work in remedial reading and math, with college preparatory courses. Assigned to it is one counselor (for these students only) and a co-ordinator, who teaches some of the math remedial courses. It serves mostly Spanish-surnamed and Black students as well as a few Oriental and "white" students.

Communications Workshop

This program was designed in conjunction with Hunter College, with a curricular focus on media communications. Beyond the regular course subjects, students were to take a specially geared English course and to select courses from a number of workshops: TV, photography, art, woodshop, and creative writing.

With the fiscal crisis in New York City, Hunter College was forced to discontinue its relationship with Sheridan in this program, thereby ending the program. At the time we ended our observations, the administration was trying to decide what to do with this program. It tended to have a high

* source: Facts and Figures 1975-76

proportion of "white" and Oriental students, though it had a mixed ethnic composition.

School of International Studies

This program provides a wide choice of electives in social studies, with an emphasis on languages, requiring a specially designed English curriculum to be coordinated with the traditional science and math courses. "Operated as a 'school within a school', graduates will receive a specially endorsed diploma."* Student eligibility is based upon attendance records, reading scores, study of a foreign language for four years (or two languages for five years) and five years of social studies, including a political science course. This honors program was to attract more "honor" students to the school.

Approximately 60 students are enrolled in this program, with a high proportion of white and Chinese students and few black and Spanish-surnamed students (as is reflective of all honors subjects in the school).

Co-operative Education (Co-op)

Sheridan High School is one of 85 schools in the New York City system to have this program. Over 30 students in 11th and 12th grade participate in this, working part-time and attending school part-time. This too is a program for students who are having difficulty with the normal school curriculum. The course work focuses on subjects that would be useful in business, and are non-regent courses.

Since this program requires special scheduling (one week at work, one week at school), the students usually spend their whole schedule with the same students, thus becoming a more unified group. It is predominantly composed of black and Spanish-surnamed students.

*Student bulletin

Managerial Science

Students begin this in the tenth grade, taking academics plus a special business course sequence: accounting, data processing and so forth. It is a three year curriculum and very new to the school.

English as a Second Language (ESL)

Students scheduled for this receive double periods of English and speech. "It is a school within a school, offering our newly arrived students from Puerto Rico, Hong Kong and other foreign countries a two year course in learning the skills of English. Servicing almost 400 students a term, it has become a major curricular component in both bilingual programs, though it is not a total curricular program.

Bilingual Program

As a multi-cultural, multi-ethnic school, Sheridan services three major language groups: English (as the common language), Spanish and Chinese. Bilingual programs in Chinese and Spanish are a result of the Lau decision in San Francisco (Lau v. Nichols, 414 U.S. 563.) The Spanish-speaking community action groups, especially ASPIRA, forced the Board of Education to comply with the ruling requiring bilingual education be provided when necessary. Students in the Spanish program received intensive English, with subject classes taught in Spanish (history, math, and science). Other subjects are available in English.

Serving these students is a major problem, even in trying to place them in a program. Many people (both parents of Spanish-speaking students and advocates for assimilation) feel these students should not be encouraged to learn in their primary language but should learn to use English as soon as possible. In addition, many Spanish-surnamed students are as weak in their own native language as in English, thus having just as much difficulty with Spanish as English.

The Chinese bilingual program of study, while also made possible through the Lau decision, is subsidized through a federal grant, applied for by Pam Yeu, a former ESL teacher and Chinese grade advisor. This program differs from the Spanish one, in that the classes are taught in English, aided by a Chinese teacher assistant who translates for the students when necessary. Course materials in Chinese are presently being developed for two subject areas: math and biology. This program is well supervised by both Mrs. Yeu and her staff of three teachers who serve as teacher/curricular specialists.

Mrs. Yeu tries to create a feeling of specialness in this program, reinforcing its advantages to the students by telling them it is a privilege to be in this program. As she said:

I tell these kids that it is a privilege for them to be in this program and that otherwise they will be transferred out.

With the additional resources from the grant, she can hire special workshop teachers to demonstrate various aspects of Chinese culture to non-Chinese classes: for example, paper cutting, Chinese painting, and in-service Chinese language classes (for teachers).

There is a certain amount of tension between the designs of these two bilingual programs, both in their programmatic focus and in their access to resources. Often one hears the two programs being compared, with a stronger preference for the Chinese bilingual program, as the students are integrated more rapidly into English. Moreover, there is no official teacher-in-charge of ASPIRA in the school, as with the Chinese bilingual program; both programs do have bilingual grade advisors. Culturally, however, the Chinese students assimilate more easily than the Hispanic students, as the learning style

in Hong Kong, China, is more conducive to adaptation in America. As Mrs.

Yeu stated:

The teachers like to work with them because they are very disciplined and they are much easier to teach. They honor the teacher because they have been taught that in Hong Kong."

Peer Group

While not a particular program of study, it is a special class provided through the Board of Education. Originally it was paired with a drug program (S.P.A.R.K.), and still provides the same open-classroom/rap session atmosphere for the students. It is now structured as a course in human relations, but cannot be taken for credit. The Peer Group leaders attempt to develop lesson plans and to schedule students for each period to develop continuity. This is difficult, for it is still a voluntary course on the part of the students. The focus is changing from a drug-based program to developing a communication session for a cross-section of the school.

Since it is a Board of Education program, the school has difficulty supervising its activities or evaluating its success. The Peer Group leaders have tried to advertise and promote the program within the school, but have had limited success in increasing its attendance rates. Moreover, the leaders must struggle to maintain their autonomy and legitimacy within the school.

Students and Curriculum

During the course of a term, a student is to see his guidance counselor or grade advisor to plan the next term's schedule, based on whether he/she will pass certain subjects, what his/her career goals are, what his/her interests are and what school requirements are. Test scores (academic and diagnostic) assist in advising. Certain courses are not open to those who are non-regents students, others are closed to those students not in a certain program or track.

Courses are coded according to program or track:

(H) honors level, (1,2,3) regular or regents level, (5,6) modified or non-regents level, (7,8) special classes for non-English-speaking students. (9) for English for students with limited reading ability, (k) for college discovery, (MA or C) for communications workshop, (W) co-operative program courses, and (Y) for school of international studies. These, then represent the basic 'tracks' within the school, which seems to follow the particular programs as well.

The students have a basic curricular format for their high school career. The diagram which follows* illustrates the new course requirements for graduation as they would be met by an individual student in four years of work. (The first year is usually spent in the ninth year of junior high school.) As can be seen by the X's, each student is required a certain number of specified course areas per term, as well as a major sequence. Even within this format, certain courses are required. For instance, World History, World Geography, American History (all for a year each) and a term of Economics are required, leaving one term as an elective.

One observer spent several days attending a sampling of classes from the academic and modified course levels, Table I illustrates the ethnic distribution he observed in each class. From these figures we were able to conclude the following points. "White" students will almost always be in classes with a multiethnic distribution. The "white" and Chinese students may tend to dominate in some classes, though they remain minorities within the overall school distribution.

*Welcome to Seward , September '71, Seward Park High School.

Course Requirements for Graduation from Sheridan High School

Term #	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
English	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Social Studies	X	X			X	X	X	X
Science	X	X	X	X				
Mathematics	X	X	X	X				
Practical Arts	X	X						
Art & Music	X		X	X				
Hygiene					X			
Health Education	X	X	X	X		X	X	X
Electives *			X	X	X X	X X	X X	X

*The electives must include a three-year sequence in language or business subjects, or an additional year of science or math to complete the three-year sequence needed for graduation.

Ethnic Breakdown of Sample of Observed Classes

180

1 or Academic Level Classes

Class	Total No.	Wh. No.	Bl. No.	Ch. No.	Hsp. No.	Other No.
Algebra 914	10	1	3	6	0	0
Economics 115	15	10	0	3	2	0
American History 114	17	4	6	6	1	0
World History 115	20	4	5	2	9	0
English 114	19	7	1	8	3	0
Math 814	19	8	0	11	0	0
Chemistry 216	30	15	2	8	5	0
World History 214	26	6	6	4	10	0
Computer Math 115	20	11	4	3	2	0
Biology 117	22	8	8	2	4	0
English 918	32	7	8	9	8	0
American History 217	23	5	4	5	9	0
Total	253	86	47	67	53	0
%	100	34.0	18.6	26.5	20.9	0

5 or Modified Level Courses

Class	Total No.	Wh.	Bl.	Ch.	Hsp.	Other
English 856	23	0	7	8	7	1
Earth Science 255	10	2	3	1	4	0
World History 256	18	0	11	0	7	0
English 857	17	1	5	2	9	0
Earth Science 256	17	4	2	7	4	0
Speech 452	13	2	3	1	7	0
Total	98	9	31	19	38	1
%	100	9.2	31.6	19.4	38.8	1.0

In the modified track, the same is not true for the black and Spanish-surnamed students. They will not always be exposed to other white students in their classes as often as "white" students will be exposed to other "black" or Spanish-surnamed students. Therefore, the modified tracks tend to be more segregated, as can be seen when the totals of these two tracks are compared, or in looking over each course.

Increasingly, the courses are being geared to the two achievement extremes of the student population. For instance, the English department is divided into three types of English courses (outside the optional program classes): academic English, which serves 1002 students over 7 term levels; modified English, which serves 447 students over 6 term levels; and "honors" English, which serves 119 students over 3 term levels. For the optional programs, there are modified and remedial English and reading courses, 1578 students are served; an additional 156 students in other types of optional English or reading courses. Many of the students in the modified track take more than one term of English or reading (College Discovery students take double periods of reading). Yet a large proportion of the school's resources are being spent on this level, with a small minority of students getting honors course work in English.

The curriculum has necessarily been adjusted over the years, adding and deleting courses as well as extra sections to a course. Courses are usually dropped when the Board of Education will no longer fund them or when students do not show enough interest to make a class. Many of the courses dropped in the past few years were special English or honors courses, some in the language areas, such as Hebrew or German, or specialized courses such as cultural

history. This is probably due in part to the declining proportion of honor level students. Most of the new courses added are either experimental courses, or those which are part of new programs, as in the communication workshop.

New courses can be developed within the school or by the Central Board. The day in the life of the principal (p. 131) illustrates one way curricular changes come about in the school. Since all options cannot be offered, some "give and take" in decision making must be taken into consideration. Thus, as shown, it can become a political as well as an educational decision.

Laws can regulate new curricular changes, as occurred with the institution of bilingual programs. The Board of Education can mandate additional course requirements, beyond those minimal requirements set by the state. For instance, there is a mandatory economics course and a minimum reading score requirement for high school graduation, set by the Board of Education. Currently, the Board is proposing to require a course of study in The Holocaust, specifically on the slaughter of Jews in Nazi Germany, to be incorporated with the regular social studies or history courses.

Paper Processing and Reports Affecting Curriculum

Teachers are caught up in as much paper work as the program office, especially those in charge of an official class. From the beginning of the term there are periodic student reports: class size reports, registration accounts, attendance reports. All these are to identify who is in school and keep track of the number of students at the school.

On the first day of class, the official class teacher must monitor the registering process, collecting and signing all registration cards to be submitted to the program office. During the year, the teacher must check all

attendance reports to see which student has dropped out/transferred out of school and those who have been absent. These lists must be compared to the teachers own class registers to mark those students who have been cutting or to see if any student is still in school.

By mid-October, attendance reports are sent to the program office, citing the students who have not attended school since registration, or those who have dropped out in the meantime. These reports are compiled to establish the school's register, which is used in calculating the school's budgetary allowance from the Central Board of Education.

During the semester, several Board of Education and Federal government reports must be filled out. The Basic Education Data Survey (BEDS) collects information on the teachers: license area, courses taught, class size, and such. This comprehensive data survey is used by the State Department of Education. Other surveys include the Federal Pupil-Parent Survey and the student ethnicity survey. These federal surveys are part of a long term study of discrimination in NYC schools. In addition, there are the Board of Education organization and reorganization reports of the school's personnel composition.

For the school's own use, various surveys are filled out in conjunction with the three grading periods each term. Besides using a special code for entering grades, the teachers must submit a failure for absence form when necessary. Any student absent in a course more than five times a term will automatically fail the course, and must repeat the course the next term.

Previously the curriculum has been laid out, based on elective offerings and tallies, estimates of courses, and projections based on past trends in different subjects. If some courses show decline, the program office estimates this trend will continue. (For example the home economics classes declined until they were phased out completely.)

During examination week (city-wide and regents exams are at the end of each semester) the extra teachers are assigned to the program office to assist the hectic, week-long programming of about 4,000 students. All annex students are programmed by the program chairman at the annex. Students with special programs are done first, next the singleton classes are done (those have only one section to the subject). The programmers pull out and program each student according to the subject area.

Students receive their new program in official class at the beginning of each term. They are given a chance to change any errors, submitting a form to their official class teacher, who will take it to the program office. Officially they are to wait for their new program before switching classes. This process is so cumbersome and slow, however, that students usually don't wait. Some go directly to their grade advisor and pressure her for a program change or, go to the program office and bother the teachers there to make the necessary change. Others won't even attempt a change, but switch to whatever schedule they chose, disregarding their own official program. This is so common that the program office had to create a new procedure to catch and correct this deviance. A month into the term the teachers are to send in names of students in their classes who are not officially supposed to be there.

Meanwhile, from the beginning of the term, the program office begins preparing the various forms that are to be filled out for various levels of the school system bureaucracy. They work to stabilize teacher schedules. As student schedules are adjusted, teacher schedules often are adjusted, especially if the whole curriculum is altered: adding new sections, or courses. In addition, they try to stabilize the student register. Dropouts occur primarily during the first two months, and teachers are to keep track of this. Later they are to send the names of these students in, as part of a Board of Education report on attendance. Those students that show up initially, but do not return are "zero-classes". In this procedure, students are removed from the class records and grouped in a 0-class homeroom listing. If these students decide to return to school, they must re-register, accompanied by their parents and an explanation of why they have been away from school.

There are also a high proportion of students transferring in and out of the school, which greatly upsets attempts to stabilize schedules. Often these are recent immigrants from Hong Kong or Puerto Rico and, occasionally, transfers from other NYC schools, or students who decide they would like to come back to school, whatever the reason. The students from Hong Kong are easier to program. The bilingual office personnel are familiar with the Hong Kong schools and are able to interpret the transcripts. There is no similar person to verify students transcripts from Puerto Rico or from the Dominican Republic, if the students have them. Even transcripts from within NYC schools are difficult for the record office to interpret. Each school seems to use its own record system, grade schedule and course names.

Student Programming and Testing

Students enter the school from three routes, either transferring in from a designated feeder school, transferring by application to the school, (including disciplinary transfers) or by immigrating from another country. Disciplinary transfers come through the principal's office (the principals usually call each other about transfers); others must go directly to the admissions officer. A bilingual advisor is brought in for those students who speak either Spanish or Chinese.

During the early part of the semester, the students are tested in a number of areas for further programming and evaluation. Reading and math tests are given to all students. Reading test scores determine the schools eligibility for Title I funds. They are also used to program students for courses (as IQ scores are no longer used). Math test scores determine the school's eligibility for PSEN monies (state aid funds for remedial math) and where the students are to be placed.

According to the New York Times in a Spring 1977 review of the legal issues over the use of the reading tests:

"these (reading) tests are used to determine the ranking of schools, the system's of eligibility for Federal funds, and the grouping of pupils within classes. The tests are also considered in determining whether a student is promoted from one grade to the next."

These tests have been of issue on many occasions. In this one instance, the tests were almost recalled when it was found that several teachers had been using them to drill their students on the test questions before the exams. At the last moment, a court order permitted the testing to go on, under stringent procedures. In addition, there are comprehensive exams for

students to pass in order to graduate from high school. Previously, they were required to achieve only a ninth grade reading level.

At the end of the term, students take course-related exams in each of their subject areas. Depending on the level of difficulty of a course section, these student exams may be state-wide (the Regents, which are for the honor and academic students), city-wide exams (for the regular classes) or school-wide exams (for the modified level of classes). Only certain students may take the Regents, due to their level of difficulty. A latent function of the Regent exams is to evaluate a teacher (i.e., how many of his/her students passed the Regents?) Therefore, teachers are often accused of developing their curricular instruction around these tests. Cheating is strictly forbidden for students. If caught, a student will automatically fail the exam and lose all previous Regents test scores.

Functioning of the Curriculum

In the "days in the lives" section of this report, we have documented how students themselves set up ways to respond to the curriculum. Particularly, we have noted one recurrent pattern of response, which we have labeled the "learning underground." As part of our study, one observer attended classes as a student, noting intra-class behavior, examining classroom activity as an event.

The learning underground is a pattern of "peer-mediated instruction," occurring usually without teacher initiation or supervision. It is composed of three major factors:

- 1) characteristics of those students whom others will seek out for help;
- 2) student self-assurance (this is a student's willingness to participate, and the type of communication transaction; his communication can even include language translation, when accessing information for other students); and
- 3) teachers' treatment of the underground (either their level of tolerance or awareness of its existence).

All these correspond to how the content is shared in the classroom, based on the instruction in class.

The learning underground is an instrumentally behavioral pattern of response within the classroom, ranging from simple exchanges such as sharing books or lab materials, repeating what a teacher says, to helping each other with test answers. We found that though students will rely more on same group language classmates, this type of shared learning does not follow a rigid social network for communication. While students do try to sit with friends/same ethnic group students in class, the size of Sheridan and the complexity of the programming does not always make this possible. Sometimes, too, the teacher will use seating patterns,

breaking up any student cliques. Though students will rely more frequently on those of the same ethnicity for this learning underground, other factors receive more consideration. They will look to those who recite more frequently and accurately and to those who sit nearest them. Therefore, these transactions will cross ethnic boundaries, when students of the same ethnicity and required competency are not in the same vicinity.

Curricular Problems

The following are a sampling of curricular problems which have occurred over the years, as a result of the change in the student body and the ever-shrinking availability of school funds. For instance, in the subject area of foreign languages, lack of enrollment and education, funds have forced the grouping of many ability levels of one language in the same classroom. Italian has only one class section, students of all language levels (1 through 8) inclusive.

Changes in the student body abilities and academic composition have also upset the teaching style of many teachers. One department chairperson complained that she could no longer teach "concepts" to the students, but had to focus on memorization of facts.

Variations in school resources and space can affect the number of courses a student is to carry. For instance, the school required that all students with a reading score below the 75% level carry only four majors until their senior year, with a great likelihood that it may drop to 3, using the excuse that space was limited. The educational soundness of this decision took a back seat to necessity.

The instability of the economic situation of the Board of Education (due to the city's fiscal crisis) and the dramatic population shifts in the student population have forced the school to develop curriculum in an incremental fashion. Thus it is no surprise that remedial courses are simply added to the course listings, instead of being developed as total curricular/organizational models to handle the new schooling problems.

Due to system-wide pressure for the ASPIRA consent degree, and now additional pressure from the Office for Civil Rights, the school (as part of the entire school system) must test students to assess their language "handicap", so they may be placed in bilingual Spanish and Chinese classes and ESL courses. L.A.B. tests are given at the beginning of the year, and students are tested by invitation.

Problems in testing students in this area have developed as students do not want to take this exam. There is a conflict within Hispanic groups as to whether the design and philosophy of such a program is what the students need. So often the students refuse to take the exam.

In addition there are comprehensive exams for students to pass in order to graduate from high school. Before, they had to achieve a ninth grade reading level only.

At the end of the term the students take course related exams in each of their subject areas. Depending on the level of difficulty of a course section, these student exams may be state-wide (the regents, which are for the honor and academic students), the city-wide exams (for the regular classes) and the school-wide exams (for the modified level of classes). Only certain students may take the regents, due to their level difficulty. A latent function of the regent exams is to evaluate a teacher (i.e. how many of his/her students passed the regents?). Therefore teachers are often accused of developing their curricular instruction around these tests. Cheating is strictly forbidden for students. If caught, a student will automatically fail the exam and lose all previous regents test scores.

Teaching

In the previous chapter on the structure and administration of the school, we have outlined the formal organizational constraints on teachers. The following chapter contains several narrative accounts of days in the lives of Sheridan students. Those accounts contain many descriptions of the way Sheridan teachers conduct their classrooms. The selections are extensive enough to present the reader with examples of teaching in different areas of the curriculum. In this chapter, we will attempt chiefly to describe the way that teachers perceive the demands of their jobs and how they react to their organizational situations.

Recruitment

Sheridan teachers are for the most part natives of the city or the metropolitan area. Many of them have themselves attended the city schools and have also received their higher education in public or private colleges and universities in their area. At one time, the teacher shortage made it possible to become a teacher without elaborate procedures. Licensing requirements came about as a means of protecting job security for teachers, but are now also a means for limiting the teacher supply, which is now in surplus. In New York City the recent budget cuts will further affect this licensing question, as schools in the city will be excessing teachers who are teaching out of license, that is, teaching in a subject other than the one in which they got their licenses. A number of teachers in Sheridan have graduate degrees, including several with doctorates. Some of those holding doctorates in Sheridan have told our observers that they would really prefer college teaching, but have taken high school jobs in default of being able to find university positions. To teach in New York City public

schools, a person must possess three sets of credentials: a bachelor's degree, certification by the state, and, in addition to state certification, certification by the city school system's Board of Examiners. After receiving certification by the Board of Examiners, prospective teachers until recently have been placed on a list, from which they must be hired in order. Since the confrontation between the city school system and the Office for Civil Rights, this system has been changed. Since the Decentralization of 1969, schools under Community School Boards with specified numbers of low-achievers have been able to go outside the lists. Sheridan, however, is a high school and thus undecentralized. Therefore, all of the teachers we observed during our study were hired in the old manner, from the rank-order lists. These lists have been full for many years. In many licence areas, the lists are so long that the tests have not even been given for years at a time. Since minority members are usually younger, this situation has stratified the teaching staff by both age and ethnicity. The lay-offs of teachers during the city's fiscal crisis further accentuated this stratification and helped provoke the sanctions of the Office for Civil Rights which have now changed the system. These changes are currently an important issue in mayoral election. It seems unlikely that the current system will be maintained after the election. It should be pointed out that the teachers' union no less than the Board of Examiners maintained a vested interest in the previous rank-order lists. These lists were agreed to in the union contract.

As a result of the hiring system, Sheridan teachers were and are predominantly members of the groups that arrived earlier in

New York -- Irish, Italians, and Jews. At Sheridan and in the system at large, Jews are the majority. In the past, as now, ethnic groups arriving simultaneously could and did move upwards in society by different paths. The school system has been a path taken by many Jews.

Some license areas, however, have expanded in recent years, notably those concerned with language instruction. Thus, at Sheridan, the largest numbers of minority teachers are to be found in the language programs.

Socialization

The process of socialization in this school and school system is primarily a matter of learning to deal with two sets of bureaucratic constraints, those of the school bureaucracy and those of the union bureaucracy. It may be said that the New York City school system is one of the most bureaucratic in the world, simply by virtue of its enormous size and the consequent problems of coordination. Within the whole system, we can say that Sheridan is one of the most bureaucratic schools. By this assertion, we are referring primarily to two of the essential "ideal-typical" features of bureaucracy as outlined in the classic theories of Max Weber: regulation of behavior according to rules that are written and public, and routinization of tasks.

The new teacher at Sheridan quickly confronts two sets of written regulations, the many circulars specifying the most minute expectations of job performance which issue from the office of the Vice Principal for Administration and the union contract. Any dispute about the former entails recourse to the latter. The union contract was treated as a sacrosanct document by the principal, himself a founder of the union in his days as a teacher, until the fiscal crisis. Under those circumstances, previously inviolable rights stipulated in the union contract, specifically regarding the upper limit of class size, were ignored in the general confusion.

One particular form of routinization which does more than anything else to shape instruction in Sheridan classrooms is the principal's emphasis on using a particular form of instruction known as the Developmental Lesson Plan. The principal often claims that the use of the DLP is not

necessarily required or appropriate for every instructional purpose. The socialization of new teachers, however, is primarily concerned with inculcating this type of instruction. Every year, general faculty meetings and departmental meetings are taken up with instruction in the use of this classroom model. Circulars are distributed which adhere to the same purpose.

If the new teacher should fail to get the message from meetings and documents, he or she will understand the necessity for at least paying obeisance to this model on the occasion of his or her observation by the principal or department chairman. The evaluations are constructed in terms of the DLP and evaluate the teacher's performance in terms of the ideals of the DLP. In the narrative accounts that follow, the reader will observe that most teachers begin most periods by writing the day's "Aim" on the front blackboard. That is according to the dictates of the DLP and is insurance against criticism from a supervisor who might come unexpectedly into the room.

Negotiating the Work Load

Although the union contract spells out in detail what teachers can and cannot be expected to do, considerable room for negotiation of the work load exists at the level of the individual school, administration, and teacher. Individual assignments may be more or less arduous or desirable, and teachers must compete with each other and negotiate with the administration in the allocation of these assignments. Individual negotiations in Sheridan typically concern matters such as what building or program one will be assigned, how many different classes requiring different lesson plans ("preparations") one will be assigned, and who will be assigned to "comp-time jobs." Compensatory time positions,

which are quite numerous in Sheridan, release teachers from a certain amount of their classroom assignments in order to perform other functions in the school. To many teachers, comp-time jobs are highly desirable as they are thought less strenuous than the classroom. Certain assignments of these jobs are associated with job mobility into administrative positions and are thus desirable for prospective administrators.

All of the above aspects of negotiating the work load are matters which are individually negotiated within the parameters of the school system's regulations and the union contract. Other matters are of collective concern to all teachers and are negotiated through the local union chapter. Many of these matters concern what responsibilities belong to teachers and which belong to other categories of staff. Sheridan teachers are responsible for a certain amount of clerical work and order-keeping as well as classroom instruction. Other categories of staff also exist in the school which are responsible for these three functions of clerical work, instruction, and order-keeping. The boundaries between the responsibilities of these various categories of staff are matters of continual definition and re-definition.

In our "Interim Report" we have described the tension that often exists between teachers and security guards. Teachers are responsible for discipline in their classrooms, security guards for keeping order in the rest of the building. The boundaries of the classroom are hard to define, however, and jurisdictional disputes as well as disagreements over appropriateness of sanctions in particular cases are not unusual.

Teachers are no longer the only category of instructional staff. The numbers of para-professionals in the school has increased steadily

since we began our observations. Some of these paraprofessionals even possess Master's degrees, yet they are subordinate to regular teachers. Thus, the position of "teacher" has in a sense risen in status as instructional categories have proliferated and become more specialized.

Finally, Sheridan teachers are responsible for a great deal of paperwork. Sometimes, entire days or half-days are set aside for the teachers to congregate in the school library and complete the records. Grades are recorded in this manner almost a month before the end of marking period. This practice creates problems of social control in the classroom, since students are often aware that their grades are more-or-less final. See the day in the life of Louise Marshall in the next chapter for an illustration.

The constraints on teacher performance described thus far should present a picture of a highly structured work routine, with relatively little flexibility at the level of the teacher in the classroom. Both the system-wide regulations and the detailed union contract are sufficient to create such a situation. At the level of the particular school, we have seen that Sheridan is even more highly structured than other schools in the system by virtue of the emphasis on written standards of job performance and, in particular, the close monitoring of classroom performance and emphasis on one form of instruction, the DLP.

One issue which has not been discussed is that of the difficulty of removing individual teachers for unsatisfactory performance, as distinct from the massive lay-offs according to seniority which occurred during the municipal fiscal crisis. Mr. Sontag issued over a dozen "Unsatisfactory" ratings during the first year of his principalship. Such a

"U-rating" is the first step toward removing a teacher for unsatisfactory performance. The principal soon found out the reason that so few "U-ratings" are ever issued. The teachers who received those ratings first fought back through the union and then began to sue him in the city and state anti-discrimination agencies. Our purpose in this report is not to evaluate this controversy, which has now dragged on for years, but to point out that teachers may have little control over their jobs in Sheridan, but they are difficult to remove, except in the situation of massive lay-offs. Incompetent teaching is difficult to prove, and teachers are willing to spend years of their lives and thousands of dollars to protect themselves.

Classroom Management

Many of the constraints on classroom management have already been described. The use of the DLP is one example. Teachers also receive a circular on this topic which suggests techniques for everything from recording grades to how to deal with disruptive students to how to modulate the pitch of the voice in order to keep students interested. In practice, Sheridan teachers use a variety of methods, according to personality and situation. Some, for example, stand in front of the classroom and moderate a discussion or lecture from that one focal point. Others assign exercises and walk around the class talking to individuals separately. Here we will describe one common problem that all teachers face and which they may deal with in various ways. The problem in question is how to deal with students who cut class and/or are absent. The description of this situation will illustrate the ways in which the roles and role performances of students, teachers, and administrators are inter-dependently structured.

The rates of absence and class-cutting at Sheridan are high. We shall witness the student perspective on this phenomenon in the following chapter. The administrative perspective on absence and class-cutting is determined primarily by two conditions. First, as we have seen, monetary allocations to the school are based on attendance rates. Second, students who cut class or are supposedly "absent" altogether often congregate in the unsupervised areas of the school, creating problems of security and order maintenance. Attendance figures are based on the rolls taken in the student's "official class" or homeroom. Since absence is easier to justify than simply cutting one class, some students each day intentionally get themselves counted "absent" for the day in order to be able to cut certain classes and go to others. The administration attempts to trace these students by sending the official absence lists from the previous day around to subject class teachers. The teachers can then check their attendance records for the subject class, which only they see, to see if any of their students have cut the day before. The official rule is that five unexcused absences or cuts means an automatic failure.

Teachers respond to this system in various ways. Besides being a strictly administrative problem, attendance is also a matter of great concern to teachers. Good grades and high passing rates for a class reflect well on a teacher. Students who do not attend regularly often have difficulty passing. In fact, attendance is the major factor behind most academic failures. Attendance lapses can however also make a teacher's job easier. The contractual upper limit of class size is 42 students. In the years of our observation before the fiscal crisis, however, we rarely saw classrooms

with more than 25 students present. The absentees can thus make it easier for a teacher to manage a class and give those students who attend regularly some individual attention.

This whole situation is additionally complicated by the fact that some students are perfectly able to miss several class sessions and still do reasonably well on their tests. Many teachers are reluctant to fail such a student for attendance reasons on the basis of information that only the teacher possesses. Strict adherence to the rules in such cases reduces the passing rate and keeps back a student who could otherwise go on. As a result, though most teachers warn their students about cutting and absence continually and stress the maximum of five unexcused absences rule, many teachers do not report all their cutting students in hopes that the students may still pull through. Other teachers adhere strictly to the rules.

The ambiguity of this situation demonstrates the divergence as well as the inter-dependence of organizational constraints on teachers, students, and administrators. This specific situation is also one of the major organizational problems of the school.

Morale

The teachers in this school as well as the wider system are currently under attack from all sides. Since the 1968 strike, teachers have been allied with administrators against the advocates of "community control." Teachers are also pitted against management in a variety of labor/management issues in the era of shrinking resources. Public demands for "accountability" aimed at individual teachers rather than systemic factors are currently an important issue in the mayoral election.

The massive lay-offs of teachers since the fiscal crisis at one point had increased the average age of teachers in the system from 28 to 42 years. That situation has pitted young against old and minority against majority. The union contract that once served as sacred talisman to teachers has been all but forgotten in the scramble to retain jobs. Not surprisingly amidst these troubles, morale of teachers is currently very low. Sheridan's teachers vary greatly in their intrinsic love of and ability to do their job. We do not wish to pass individual judgements, although examples of the dedicated as well as careless teacher will not be difficult to spot in the accounts which follow. In this section, we have tried to indicate that the problems of teachers can not be laid simply at the doors of individuals. Both the inspired as well as the incompetent teacher are caught in a web of systemic constraints that severely limit the ability of the individual to create solutions.

Political Roles and Alliances Among Teachers

As we have indicated several times, the political and racial ethnic history of the schools of New York City help to explain the present sorting and grouping patterns found in the school. From our first study, we held to a general principle that sorting is an inevitable consequence of the need to obtain autonomy in an organization, attaching it to the more general anthropological theses that people naturally organize into groups and form alliances with each other in order to fulfill their basic needs. It follows, then, that they spend a good deal of their time defining their group's separateness from other groups.

As noted in the curriculum section, some teachers maintained autonomy by doing their jobs and no more, thereby remaining indifferent to the school. Others, however, negotiate with the administration for more power resources.

During the first few years of the principal's appointment to the school, the struggle for power was more political. As concluded earlier in this study, the school could be viewed as an arena for combat, where various groups are struggling for control over the ability to determine what goes on inside the school. Teachers, students, and administrators are in competition for control over resources and decision-making. Administrators are at a distinct advantage in the struggle, since they have the formal authority to make policy and determine school direction. Students are almost totally impotent in this regard, in that they are caught between their dual statuses as clients of the organization and children of the in loco parentis structure of the school.

During the first two years of our study of Sheridan, several factions of teachers could be identified by their responses to the principal's policies. Some of these factions were composed of interactional networks. Other factions were defined not so much by direct interaction as by sharing the same attitudes towards the school and strategies for getting along in it. The following five categories of teachers, while not entirely mutually exclusive or exhaustive still serve to represent the organizational and political climate of the school at the time of our arrival:

a. Militants. Starting from the political left, we have a group which the principal himself dubbed "the militants." They were a group of confrontation-oriented teachers who were ardently opposed to the principal. For the most part, these people knew each other and associated together in their free time. Although some, though not all, of the few black and Hispanic teachers in the school were associated with this group, the most outspoken members of the group were middle-aged, white, non-Jewish and had several years of teaching experience. Some of these individuals,

few of whom remain in the school, are those responsible for the lawsuits charging religious and sex discrimination which have now dragged on for several years. The former union leadership and its allies belonged to this group. Besides charging job discrimination, this group as a whole was consistently vocal in protesting against the principal's methods of regulating instruction. They considered themselves qualified (or moreso than he) to manage a classroom and were thus quite disturbed by the rigorous observations and by the steady flow of decisions from the top about major and minor details of classroom management. Members of this group were also far more likely than other teachers to find the attitudes of individuals or the procedures of the organization racially and ethnically discriminatory. Even these "militants", however, identified heavily with the union and had supported the bitter 1968 strike which so polarized the school system and the minority neighborhoods. Perhaps the low-key political stance of the minority members of this group of Sheridan teachers was the result of a greater degree of identification with the neighborhoods and lesser identification with the union.

b. Centrists and moderates. This group generally includes those teachers who are active in the union and the school generally but who have established a working relationship with the administration. The members of this group also know each other and associate often. They also know the members of the more militant group. Some of the moderates are farther to the left than others. One such individual was a teacher named Henry Mazur who was a socialist and union activist and who often associated with the militants but also worked closely with the principal on several special projects. More toward the center was Bill Lowry, the union chapter chairman who replaced

the militant leadership, running on a platform of cooperation rather than confrontation with the principal. The ages of the members of this group ranged from young to middle-career. Ethnically, most of them are part of the Jewish majority.

c. Administration supporters. This group includes several of the department chairmen as well as some younger members who are rapidly moving up in the bureaucratic hierarchy. Unlike the previous two groups, these people identify more strongly with administrative than teaching concerns. These people also associate very closely with each other.

d. Apolitical teachers. Many of the teachers in Sheridan during the confrontation years did not take an open stand about who has the right to determine what goes on in the classroom. While many of them disagreed privately, they accepted the administration's directives, either because they were afraid to buck the system or because they did not want to become involved one way or the other. This category of teachers did not form an interaction group. Some members of this category had been in the school for years and associated with members of the other factions. Other members of this category were relatively young teachers who were not involved in the school beyond teaching their classes, coping with the bureaucracy, and picking up their paychecks.

e. Minority teachers. During the confrontation years, there were so few black, Hispanic and Chinese teachers in the school that they were for the most part isolated from each other. As mentioned above, some of them took low-key political stances while others stayed uninvolved. With the increase in the language curricula, the proportion of Hispanic and Chinese staff members, some at the paraprofessional level have increased and these

groups now associate both informally and by virtue of working in the same part of the organization.

The resolution of the tensions described above was accomplished rapidly as the end of our second year in what those who remain and remember now refer to as "the purge." Most of those who opposed the principal transferred to other schools, to the mutual relief of many of them. A small embittered and isolated remnant remains. Shortly afterward, the fiscal crisis began. The "last hired, first fired" personnel policy, supported or at least tolerated by the central union leadership, resulted in the increase of average teacher age across the city from 28 to 44 years. Many minority members suffered, precipitating the Gerry Report, as mentioned earlier. There were so few minority teachers in Sheridan, however, that it was but slightly affected in that regard. One black teacher was lost but several Hispanic and Chinese teaching staff members were added, although as paraprofessionals, not as full teachers.

Teacher strategies during this period shifted from the school to control over their own job stability. Advancement has become increasingly difficult, both due to lack of openings and to increased pressure for affirmative action, thereby encouraging cooperation from anyone who wishes to be promoted.

Summary Analysis and Examination of Observed Roles

As can be seen, there are several formal organizational constraints which regulate the teachers' behavior: evaluation through successful use of Developmental Lesson Plan, curriculum of the school, the hierarchy within the school and within the school system, characteristics of the students (language, academic ability, size of population) and the great quantities of paperwork and recordkeeping which are a function of the size of the school system and

and its bureaucracy. External constraints, historical and current, also provide a foundation for understanding the types of teacher behaviors observed. Ethnicity, which has always played a major role in the history of New York City, has had a strong role in the New York City school system. The ramifications of the 1968 strike and the resulting decentralization of schools has not lost its political effects. Tensions are higher now, with the current fiscal crisis of New York City making teaching jobs unstable. As always, the bureaucracy of the school system becomes more impenetrable as the problems increase.

In light of these constraints, we examined the various teaching roles as observed. Based on our examination of the school during the two studies, we can conclude that there are at least six formally designated functions that teachers are expected to perform: (1) instruction, (2) supervision of students (inside and outside the classroom), (3) evaluation of students, (4) recordkeeping, (5) socialization of students (development of acceptable attitudes) and (6) implementation of administrative policies. The constraints summarized above dictate the degree to which a teacher can succeed with his/her duties, as we have outlined. Identification of the political and racial/ethnic backgrounds of the school further facilitates understanding of the discretionary behavior of teachers.

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Days in the Lives of Sheridan Students

Introduction

In the following section, we present a series of reconstructed days or parts in the lives of eight Sheridan students. The eight students we have chosen vary widely in sociological attributes such as social class, ethnicity, neighborhood of residence, length of time their families have lived in the region, language(s) spoken, and family structure. They also vary in their statuses within the school organization. Though none of these days or people is being presented as ideal-typical, we have sought to present several examples in considerable narrative detail in order to give a sense of the common constraints on student activity as well as a sense of the range of variations between individuals and situations. The format for the presentation of each day will consist of a continuous narrative, followed by a network chart of the individual's interactions, followed by a brief analysis highlighting significant features of the particular individual's situation.

The format for each day will be the same. Our data on these informants varies in its richness, however. Some of these informants were known to us only briefly and others we were able to consult regularly over periods of months. Consequently, the following reservations about the comparability of the cases must be stipulated: first, some of these "days" are more complete than others for various reasons. Informants sometimes were more willing to lead the observers through some parts of their daily paths than through others. The constraints of "inside" and "outside" the school were a particular problem in this regard. We eventually recruited one observer to work only on the streets outside the building as a response to this problem. Second,

since we knew some informants in more depth and over longer periods than others, the network charts vary considerably in their completeness, both as to the number, quality, and intensity of relationships.

In the analysis after each day, we will summarize the state of our knowledge of each informant with respect to three characteristics: (1) the informant's place in the social structure of the larger community; (2) the characteristics of each informant's personal friendship network; and (3) the characteristics of the informant's relations with the school organization. After presenting all eight days, we will present a comparative analysis of the commonalities and the range of variation of these individual's situations and attempt to assess the inter-relationships among the three factors above. In this way, we hope to arrive at an understanding of the effects of both school-specific and community-generated constraints on individual students and their social and educational situations.

In assessing the first factor, the informant's place in the social structure of the community, we will refer back to the earlier community descriptions. Those descriptions have emphasized processes of migration, ecological characteristics of neighborhoods and their spatial configurations, and economic and political organization. We have tried to describe these configurations as the result of layers of historical accretion and development particularly with regard to processes of ethnic succession in the neighborhoods.

In assessing the characteristics of the informants' personal networks, we have focused our interest on two kinds of questions. The first whether students associate in school with people they know from outside the school or with people they have met in the school. The second question

concerns the amount of inter- versus intra-ethnic interactions that each informant engages in, both in formal classroom activities and in informal, personally chosen relationships. All of the permutations of the above possibilities will be seen to occur. Sheridan is a particularly fascinating school in that it serves such a diverse population. Its students came from many racial and cultural backgrounds. They also come from neighborhoods of the city that vary considerably in their degree of residential segregation. The school's official documents proudly proclaim that "Sheridan is one of the most uniquely integrated schools in one of the most culturally pluralistic communities in the country." The following analysis should serve to operationalize these concepts of "integration" and "cultural pluralism" in a systematic and empirical fashion and so refine and give precision to these notions in a way that will make them testable and interpretable.

Finally, by relating the factors of community structure and individual network to the individual's organizational status, we will address the question of what all this has to do with education and the design of educational organizations.

Fieldworker-Informant Relationships. Under the aegis of three separate projects, we have sent a total of eight observers to Sheridan High School over a period of six years. Given the size and diversity of the organization and population, the gradual accumulation of understanding through the work of so large a team over this long period of observation has been necessary. Since the process of anthropological fieldwork depends so heavily on the relations of fieldworker to informant and the careful building up of confidences, we include here a few descriptions of our fieldworkers. The team has included

men and women, most of them in their twenties or early thirties. The team members have been graduate students, former teachers, black and white, English and Spanish speaking. The following "days in the lives" were taken from the field notes of Mercer Sullivan, Paul Jennings, Samuel Henry, and John Mavros. Since the point of view of field notes is ultimately that of the fieldworker, we describe below some aspects of these fieldworkers' presentation of self" in order that the reader may evaluate the effect of the fieldworker's presence on the situation he is describing. Although the accounts have been standardized somewhat to facilitate reading and comparison, the tone of the original fieldworker and autobiographical comments where appropriate have been left.

Mercer Sullivan recorded the observations in the first four days, those of Daniel McKee, Louise Marshall, Lucy Han, and Mike Edwards. Mr. Sullivan is a white male in his twenties. He has never taught school. He was born in the South but has resided in the Northeast for the past ten years. He wears a beard and longish hair and has been characterized as "looking like a student" by the principal, despite his efforts to attire himself in such a way as to be accepted by both youths and adults in the school. He in fact divided his time rather equally between the two age groups.

Paul Jennings is a white male in his twenties. He recorded the observations of Cindy Ng and Carmen Nieves. He is a former teacher in a bilingual school in the city and speaks Spanish well as a result of his years in the Peace Corps in South America. He did his fieldwork as part of an administrative internship and consequently spent most of his time

with administrators. He is a native of the metropolitan area. His father is a labor official and he was welcomed by the teacher's union on the basis of that fact.

Samuel Henry, who recorded the observations of Josie, is a black male in his twenties. He has taught school, but he designed his fieldwork so that he followed a regular student schedule.. Consequently, he spent most of his time with students and was often identified as a student, both by other students and by adults. He is a native of the Washington, D.C. area. He is of West Indian descent and presented himself in that fashion on occasion to students of similiar background.

John Mavros, who recorded the observations of Hutch, was born in North Carolina and is of Greek parentage. His skin is light brown. He wears an Afro hairstyle and often attires himself and speaks in such a way that he is identified as "black." He designed his fieldwork so that he conducted his observations just outside the main school building, rarely venturing inside. When asked to identify his purposes, he presented himself as "a college student writing a paper." He was not taken to be a school official, although he was suspected of being the actor of several other spurious roles. His account in the "Interim Report" contains a fuller record on his relations with informants.

A Day in the Life of Daniel McKee

Today I arrived at school just before the beginning of official period. As usual, the street around the school, particularly in front of the two main entrances, was filled with students milling about and waiting to be admitted. I walked once around the entire block that the school occupies and observed the groupings of students, which conformed to the usual pattern. On the north side of the school, black students predominated. Many of them are from uptown and so get off the subway on this side of school. They then congregate on the northwest corner of the school and inside the doorways down the street westward. The long side of the school on the west is the most sheltered side of the school and is the main area in which all kinds of students congregate, though Hispanics predominate. The non-Hispanic students tend to gather on the side of the street next to the school just outside the main doors, leaving the opposite side of the street to the Hispanics. The few white and Chinese students who hang out before and during school do so on the south side of the school. The white students come mostly from the high-rise housing projects to the east, next to the river. The Chinese arrive here by walking directly across from Chinatown, a few blocks to the west. This morning, there are only two groups of four or five Chinese on the southwest corner. When I arrived, everyone was starting to move around to the south entrance of the school. The east entrance has the biggest doors and enters on the lobby, but at this time of morning it is closed. All the students must enter single file through the smaller south doors, past the security people.

I stood in front of the south doors for a minute listening to a conversation between a chubby white male and two white female students. The boy was speaking and apparently he and maybe one or both of the girls were in the Communications Workshop, a new curriculum in the school which I knew met on the sixth floor, but which I had not visited. The boy was outraged that the film and video teachers in the Communications Workshop, Mr. Bononcini, was being laid off. The student proposed drafting a petition to keep this from happening. I joined in their conversation, thinking I might ask one of them to let me follow him or her around that day.

Just then, however, Daniel McKee, a white male student of athletic build with bright red hair walked up. I had been introduced to him briefly a few days ago by a Puerto Rican student named Victor Melendez. I spoke to Daniel and he remembered me, "You're the one who's writing the book?" He also knows another of our field workers, John Mavros, who observes what happens outside and around the school building. Just before the bell for official period rang, I asked Daniel if he would mind if I followed him around today. He was agreeable. I explained that I didn't want him to do anything out of the ordinary today just because I was there, because I was interested in who his friends were and his regular daily routine. I told him he shouldn't not cut classes if he normally does. He gave me a funny smile and told me that he doesn't usually cut classes anyway.

We went inside. The security guard recognized me today and I didn't have to show him my note from the principal. We went upstairs to his official class. I asked the homeroom teacher, Mr. Rubin, if I could come in and he

agreed. Inside, Daniel sat down in the left-hand row just behind the chubby student from the Communications Workshop. The students spent the few minutes of official class talking to each other. At the teacher's request, Daniel went over to the windows and opened one. He stayed over there for a minute talking to another white male student. Meanwhile, I was listening to the boy in front of me rave on about his petition.

At the end of official class, I walked out with Daniel and asked him what he thought of the petition and the teacher, Mr. Bononcini. Daniel said he didn't really know the teacher but that he never listened to anything this other student said because "He's a fag." I did not know whether Daniel meant that the other boy was actually homosexual or merely effeminate. Meanwhile, we were walking around the fourth floor hallway and down to the third floor where Daniel's English class was. He nodded to one white boy with very long hair and made comments to me about two or three girls that we passed. I think the girls were Hispanic, but only one of them nodded to Daniel.

The English class was taught by Mr. Schweig, whom I know from our previous years of fieldwork. He was very gracious when I asked to sit in on the class, although he kept kidding me throughout the class. He introduced me, saying, "This gentleman is from Columbia University and he is doing a study of (he paused, trying to think of something ridiculous) "the effect of sunlight on the classroom." Then he pointed to the back of the room where one little corner was filled with sunlight.

This class had over forty people in it and was the largest I have ever seen at Sheridan. I had spoken briefly to Mr. Schweig the other day and he had been complaining about the class sizes that had resulted from the municipal budget cuts, mentioning that this was a clear violation of the heretofore

sacred union contract, but that the union like everyone else was paralyzed by the city's fiscal crisis.

The lesson today was on Shakespeare. This was an academic level senior English class and the students in the room were a pretty even mixture of white, black, Chinese, and Hispanic. Given the small percentage of white students in the school, however, there were a disproportionate number of them in this class, about a third of the class compared to about 10% of the school.

The teacher began reading from Macbeth. He would read a little and then stop to ask someone to explain the plot or the words, especially when the words had double meanings, as so often happens in Shakespeare. Most people in the class were responding pretty well, but the atmosphere was quite hectic and noisy. I was sitting with Daniel near the back of the class. He didn't volunteer, but managed to answer the two times he was called on. He wasn't very disruptive either, just sitting there through most of the class. There were two other white male students sitting in the middle of the class, however, who were yelling and horsing around a bit. One of them made the teacher laugh at one point by construing a dirty meaning to one of the phrases in the play, a meaning which not even Shakespeare intended. This student finally went too far, however, just before the end of the class, and the teacher got mad and told him to speak to him after class.

When the period ended, I went out with Daniel and down the stairs. As we left the class, we saw Mr. Schweig talking to the disruptive boy and two others. It did not look as if the boy were in serious trouble, on the order of a pink slip, however.

Daniel told me that this was now his lunch period, although it was not even eleven o'clock. I asked him if he went to the cafeteria and he told me no, that he usually went outside. I had expected as much since I rarely see white male students in the cafeteria, and usually only a few white females.

As we were heading towards the exit, Daniel encountered a young female teacher from the typing department. He greeted her with a twinkle in his eye and tried to make some conversation, but she seemed to be in a hurry. After she left, I said, "You seemed to have her wrapped around your finger." He raised his eyebrows and replied, "Yeah, well, I thought so, but now I'm not so sure." On the way out, I asked him if he were planning to meet anyone. He said he was not sure, that he often did, but that he did not know who would be around today.

Outside, it was cold and looked as if it might rain any moment. We stood on the southeast corner of the school and looked around. There were few youths visible hanging out just then. We stood there talking for a little while. I asked him who his best friends in school were. He told me that Victor Melendez, who had introduced us, was only a casual friend. His regular friends were Frank and Ralph and Ralph's girl friend Debbie. We never ran into them this day, though. We talked about marijuana a little and I mentioned how common it was to see students buying, selling, and smoking outside. As if on cue, three Hispanic male youths came walking past us and I heard them say, "loose joints." One of them nodded to Daniel. I asked Daniel if he knew them. He said he only knew the one who nodded. Then the two of us speculated as to whether they were trying to buy or sell joints and couldn't decide until we saw the same three still making the rounds about ten minutes later. We then

decided that they were trying to buy or otherwise they would have gone off to some doorway to smoke. There was hardly anyone else outside at this time. Daniel told me that he smoked but not around school and that "I don't smoke with Puerto Ricans." I asked him why and he replied, "They're too open. They're just not cool enough about it for me."

We were getting cold and the wind was coming up, so we moved across the street to the doorway of a clothing store. The south side of the school is the only one that is across from retail stores and the merchants often have to clear the students out of their entrances on cold days, but there were few students hanging out today and we didn't have any of that trouble. For the rest of his lunch period, I continued to talk to Daniel about his life, in particular his friends, his family, and his school.

Daniel next told me that he lives in the high-rise projects over by the river and that his father is a lawyer. He said that he had always lived in that neighborhood and that he had gone to elementary and junior high school there also. His younger brother is also a student at Sheridan.

He then told me about his exploits the previous weekend. He said that he had gone on a camping trip upstate with three other boys. Two of the others are regular friends of his, though, and they are not from Sheridan; one of them had another friend, Eddie, who had a car. Daniel expressed distrust of this character Eddie, saying that Eddie had almost gotten them into a couple of fights. Daniel said, "I can get pretty rowdy sometimes, but this guy was too much." Apparently, they had been riding up the highway drinking beer, but when they stopped, Eddie would get obnoxious towards other people at the stops. At one point Eddie had walked across the top of someone else's car and that had almost precipitated a fight. I asked Daniel if all these

people he had been with on the weekend were white and he said yes. I asked him if Frank and Ralph and Debbie, his friends at school, were also white and he said that they were. He said he had acquaintances who were Puerto Rican and Chinese but that they were not close friends. I asked if he had any friends from Harlem and he said no.

We started back inside for Daniel's next class, which was gym. On the way in, he spontaneously began to describe to me his method of obtaining program changes at the school. This is a problematical process at the school, I knew, given the large number of students and the complicated curriculum. Sometimes it takes weeks to process the changes and the classes may not reach final form till halfway through the term. The advisors generally try to discourage changes as much as possible to keep the complications and paperwork down. Daniel told me he had made a change earlier this year and that he had taken elaborate precautions. First he picked out the classes that he wanted to change to. Then he went to the teachers and found out which sections had room in them and obtained notes to that effect. He did all this before submitting his program change request. When he finally turned in the request to the program office, he included the notes from the teachers. His change was processed within the week.

I had a difficult time getting into the boys' gym because I had to get permission from the department chairman who is the faculty member with the longest tenure in the school. As a result, even the principal has trouble telling him what to do. In fact, Sheridan is one of the few schools in the city that still has separate health classes for boys and girls and that is due to Mr. Schaefer's refusal to merge them. I finally showed my note from the principal to Mr. Schaefer and got into the

boys' gym. Daniel and the others in the class were already dressed out in gym clothes when I got in. There were a couple of hundred boys in the gym and the air was filled with basketballs. The black boys were using the baskets on the south side of the gym. The Chinese boys had one basket on the northwest side. Hispanics had the other baskets on the north side. Daniel was fooling around with a few Hispanic boys on the parallel bars. I was standing on the southeast side near the windows. Near me were several boys who were dressed in their street clothes. This last group had medical excuses not to exercise but had to attend anyway. There were three young male teachers going around the gym checking attendance and the notes of the medically excused group.

All of a sudden, a whistle shrilled and every student turned toward the east side of the gym and dropped to one knee. Those with basketballs held them, except for one unfortunate whose ball slapped to the floor just after the immediate silence. He received a reprimand from the whistle-blower, Mr. Kaplan. Mr. Kaplan is a middle-aged man who runs the gym class. He instructed the class for about ten minutes while the younger teachers walked around checking the attendance and occasionally interacting with the students. Mr. Schaefer, the department chairman, was in his office inside the locker room area all this time.

Mr. Kaplan proceeded to instruct the class in the proper ways of performing three or four calisthenic exercises, telling them how many they should be able to do at a certain age. He then had them try out the calisthenics on the floor briefly. He concluded his lesson by saying, "If you find that you can't do as many of these exercises as are normal for your age, you should come in here and practice them sometimes instead of just playing

basketball." He then blew his whistle and everyone immediately went back to shooting baskets, except for Daniel and the others on the parallel bars.

Mr. Kaplan then came over to talk to me. I introduced myself and told him what I do. He remembered me a little from two years ago, but he remembered one of our other fieldworkers from that time quite well. I told him that I was following Daniel around, and he said, "He's a good kid, but he's not motivated." I asked him what he meant. He told me that he lives in the same apartment building as Daniel's family and knows them. He told me that Daniel's father is a lawyer and that Daniel was smart but that he coasted in school. He said, "We've tried to get him to stop taking all these shop courses and get interested in college, but he won't do it." I told him that that was very interesting. The students started back into the lockers at this point. I thanked Mr. Kaplan and went out the front door, rather than through the lockers. Daniel had told me the room of his next class, and I went upstairs to meet him. The gym is on the first floor, the lockers are on the second, and the class was on the third.

A few minutes later, having obtained permission from the teacher, a woman in her early thirties or so named Mrs. Potter. I was sitting in the back of the class with Daniel. The first assignment of the day was to hand in an accounting exercise they were supposed to have done for homework. This class was a little hectic, and with all the talking and bustling, it took about ten minutes for this handing-in to take place. Daniel and I were in the two left-hand seats of the back row. I was next to the wall. Also in the back row, over one student from Daniel, was an Hispanic boy who did not have his assignment. Daniel got up and was walking all around as if he were trying to help gather the assignments. In fact, he was helping the other boy copy

his, which they successfully did. They were pretty blatant about it; Daniel was grinning across at me conspiratorially while it was happening, but the teacher did not seem to notice or mind, one or the other.

The rest of the class was spent with the teacher working the homework exercise on the board. The class got very quiet for this. When the class was over, I checked with Daniel to make sure I had observed correctly what he was doing and he confirmed my observation. He then asked me what Mr. Kaplan had been talking to me about. I said, "He told me your whole life story." He asked, "What do you mean?" a little skeptically. I described the conversation, and when I got to the part about his family pressuring him to quit taking shop courses, he went, "Whew, you're not kidding."

About this time, the white male student with very long hair who had nodded to Daniel earlier came up and spoke to him. Daniel introduced him to me as George. I then recalled that I had often seen this guy standing in a particular doorway across from the south side of the school. I mentioned that and asked them if that was in fact a regular hangout. They told me that it was.

I had to leave the school about this time. I said good-bye to them, and promised Daniel that I would show him these notes when they were written up.

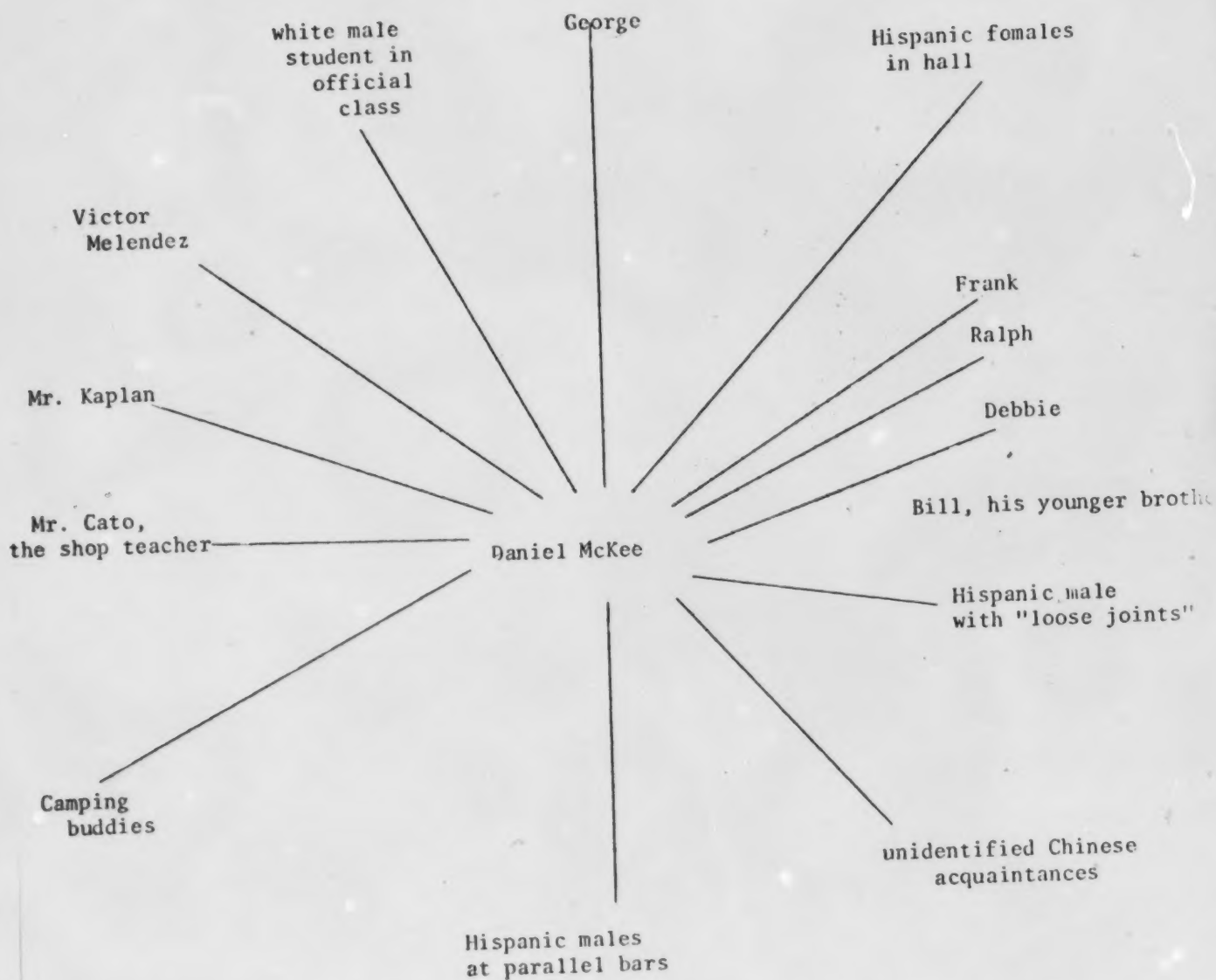
Analysis

Daniel McKee belongs to one of the middle class, professional families that live in the subsidized middle-to-moderate income apartment buildings east of the school by the river. His personal friendship network of age peers seems to consist of two types of people. His closest friends, both in and out of school, are white, like himself, and probably also middle class. Their bit of turf just outside the school is one the southeast corner, nearest the housing projects. He also has numerous casual acquaintances among Hispanic youths and Chinese youths inside the school, but he draws certain lines about these relationships. He does not report or exhibit any black acquaintances.

In his relations with the school, Daniel follows the rules, understands and manipulates the system well, and stays out of trouble. He does not, however, avail himself of the opportunity to participate in an elite program within the school's curriculum, the Communications Workshop, in which a large proportion of the students are white. The fact that there is direct, steady communication between the school and his family, in the form of ties which are to be found in the community, e.g., Mr. Kaplan's acquaintance with his family, is quite unusual for the majority of Sheridan students. The parents' organization and activities at Sheridan are quite limited. Most students' parents are only likely to have contact with the school in the case of extreme difficulties, in which case the parent must come to school to confer with the deans or counselors.

Follow-up note: when we last saw Daniel, he had been graduated but he was still hanging out in his regular place in front of school, talking to girls coming out of school. He was not in college and was looking for a job.

FRIENDSHIP NETWORK OF DANIEL MCKEE



A Day in the Life of Louise Marshall

Today was the Wednesday after Martin Luther King's birthday.

I had arranged to meet and follow around for a day an 11th grade black female student from Harlem, Louise Marshall. I had met Louise in Mr. Frimmer's fourth period mythology class the week before. I asked her if I could follow her around today. She had agreed and given me her class schedule at that time. Louise is a short, cute, slightly plump black girl. She wears her hair flat on top and puffed out into an Afro in the back. She is quite vivacious and talkative. I arrived in school after the beginning of first period. I had miscalculated my train ride and so missed her first period class.

At the end of first period, I went to the room where she had told me she was going to be and she was not there. It was an English class taught by Mrs. Fried whom I had met once before. I asked Mrs. Fried if Louise was in that class and she said no, that she knew Louise but that Louise was not in her class that period.

I walked around the halls during the break between first period and AM official hoping I would run into Louise, but did not see her. I went to room 418 for the AM official period, planning to meet her when she came into room 418 for second period. I introduced myself to the teacher in room 418, Mr. Franken. He told me I could sit and wait for Louise.

I sat in the back of the classroom which is a business skills classroom with typewriters and data processing machines in the back. There was no formal activity whatever during the homeroom. Most of the students in the class were black and Spanish with a few Chinese and one or two white students.

The teacher traded a few remarks with the students in the front of the room, but mostly he just let them talk to each other while he took the attendance. At one point, I heard a recorded voice in the room, or what sounded like a recorded voice until I figured out that it was the speaker that was giving out the announcement. The announcement was almost impossible to hear, but it seemed to concern upcoming China Nite on Friday night and an announcement about an African dance class which was being formed. The noise level in the room got if anything louder during the announcement on the intercom.

After the bell, the students left the room; Mr. Franken, who knew that I was waiting for someone, told me that he usually locks the room but that he would leave it open if I would watch the front door. I agreed and sat on a file cabinet while everyone left the room.

As the students began to enter for the beginning of second period, the teacher, Allen Epstein, entered and I recognized him as the young man whom I had shared a couple of lunch periods with in the teachers' cafeteria. He is very fair-skinned and somewhat baby-faced. He is always very neatly dressed. He makes jokes about how his wife has to pick his clothes out because he is color-blind. This class is called electronic data processing and is a class in the use of computers. Louise came in and when she saw me she told me that she had forgotten I was supposed to follow her around. I kidded her about having told me the wrong number of her first period classroom, telling her that she was trying to throw me off. She told me that she didn't know the numbers of the classes and that I should have just gone on down the hall because she had been at the end of the hall.

She sat over on the left side of the room and I took a seat beside her. The class got off to a rather slow start. There was a good deal of milling around and several of the boys in the back of the class seemed engrossed in a new copy of Newsweek magazine, which contained a still from the motion picture, The Exorcist. The students seemed quite interested in the movie and the magazine with the picture.

The makeup of this class was as follows: there were two white females, three black females, seven Hispanic males, three black males and one male who appeared to be an East Indian.

The ambience of the classroom was solidly in the hands of the majority group of the students, the Latin males. They kept milling around and talking to one another, not staying in their desks, and generally ignoring the teacher who shuffled around on his desk for the first part of the period. Eventually the teacher announced that they were going to try to produce pictures drawn on a computer. He opened up his brief case and pulled out an example of a computer design which he himself had done. It was a silhouette of the Statue of Liberty. He passed out sheets of paper with spaces on it and instruction for how to create a design. About three students, including Louise, got up and moved to the back of the room where they began working on punching cards through the data processing machines. The teacher went back to work with them for a while. The ringleader of the Latin males seemed to be a boy named Eladio. Eladio has an olive complexion and short curly hair. He was wearing a sheepskin coat and was interacting rapidly with almost everyone in the room, often mischievously. He was laughing and provoking laughter a lot. When the teacher went to the back of the room, Eladio immediately was up out of his seat and sparring with a boy over on the left

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side of the room.

At the beginning of the period, the teacher had already called Eladio down once. When Mr. Epstein calls a student down for acting up in his class, he does it in a short, irritated, but casual manner. He does not do it very harshly or threateningly and it seems to have only momentary effects. After Eladio had been sparring with the other student, they all concentrated on the picture in Newsweek for a while and talked about the movie, The Exorcist. After a few minutes of this, a book came sailing through the air from Eladio's desk towards my side of the room. By this time the teacher was back in the front of the room and he called out, "Hey, fellows, you're supposed to be doing this." Someone replied, "I don't want to do it," and the teacher said, "Do it anyway. Come on, it's part of the course." Eladio took vehement exception to this and said, "Nah, EDP is over. It was over before Christmas. You think I'm crazy?" He was referring to the fact that the students all know that during this part of the year the grades are already in and teachers are very unlikely to hassle the paperwork of changing them. Thus, for two months of the year, at the end of each term, teachers have considerable trouble using grades to control their students.

At this point, I walked back into the classroom to where Louise was working on the card-punching machines. I saw the book which had been thrown across the room. It was New Black Playwrights. Louise had stopped punching cards and said in a normal tone of voice, "Hey, Epstein, I need cards." The noise level in the room, however, insured that the teacher would not hear this. Louise did not seem to care

and continued to repeat it at about five-minute intervals. When she was not saying this, she was talking to the two black boys who were also in the back of the room working on the machine. The students were continually getting up and walking around the classroom during this time. Eventually the teacher came back and heard Louise's sentence. He said, "Louise, we're short of cards." Then he took her cards and asked, "Does anybody else have cards?" Then he announced that they were to restrict their diagrams to 80 columns. A few minutes later, Mr. Epstein came back and explained the course to me. He said that it was supposed to be a course in learning one of the computer languages and said that there used to be a computer terminal at the school. He brought back a computer program that the class had done and showed it to me, explaining that since they had moved the terminal out of the school to another school on Staten Island due to a budgetary cutback, the students have to punch out the cards at the school and then he has to take the cards up to another high school in order to run the programs. Then he must bring the programs back for them to correct and so on. He says it makes it very difficult to make much progress in the course and that the students had been interested in it at first, but seemed bored with it by now. He told me that the only practical way to teach the course without the terminal there was to divide the students into teams and have each team work on a program. He said that the computer course is in its second year in the city school system, that three sections of it are offered at Sheridan and that only one term is available to the Sheridan students, and only one section of the course is taught, although in another course two computer languages are offered.

While he was talking to me, Eladio had been working on a design up front and he yelled back, "Hey, Epstein, what is this?" While holding up his design which read "Junior." The teacher said, "I can read that. I don't have to come up there." Eladio yelled out quite loudly, "Come here, man."

At the end of the period, Louise walked out the back door and started down the stairs, but then began talking to a black female student who was standing in the back door of the classroom that we had just left. She talked to her for a couple of minutes and then went around the corner to go down the stairway. She started to say something about the teacher of the next period having a Southern accent when she ran into a black male student halfway down the stairs. Apparently she had just been talking about him with the girl a few moments before and she started to tell him that somebody was interested in him. They talked for several minutes while standing in the staircase. I thought the bell for the next period was going to sound before they broke off the interaction. I remembered then that Mr. Epstein had told me at the beginning of the period before when I had said that I was following Louise around, "She is not one of the most punctual people in the school." We walked down the two flights eventually and into World History 218, just as the bell was sounding. The teacher in this class was a man named Mr. Meltzer who told me when I asked to sit in that he was not a regular teacher but had substituted in this class several times before. He was short and slight with black hair and was wearing a green suit. He had a very intense manner and was always glancing around nervously. I asked him if I could sit in on the class and he consented, although when I said I was following Louise around, he said, "Louise, who's Louise?" Again, Louise

sat over in the left front corner of the classroom and I pulled up a loose chair and then sat beside her. The teacher gave her his role book and asked her to take the attendance. When Louise began reading the attendance, she called everyone's name in a perfectly imitated southern accent that is much different from her normal way of speaking. Her drawl got more and more pronounced as she went through the list.

After Louise had finished drawling out the roll call, the teacher announced to the students that they were going to review for a test that day and he began reading out a long list of terms relating to labor/management relationships and unions. He reeled them off quickly, supposedly so that they could stop him if they did not understand something, but he seemed more interested in getting through the list than in reviewing the terms. He did not explain them or anything, but simply read them off and if there was any question gave no more than a one-word synonym for the term he had just read.

There was one student behind me, a Spanish male wearing a sort of dueling shirt with full sleeves who answered most of the terms for the class. While this review was going on, Louise was constantly engaged in conversation with the white female who was sitting in back of her. The list of terms was completed in about ten minutes and Mr. Meltzer said that he wanted to discuss some other things during this class period. He first produced a teacher's circular which he said had come down from the principal that morning and read a few paragraphs from the circular. They were on the subject of budget cuts that Sheridan is undergoing. The circular announced that the situation in Sheridan next semester could be considered a crisis and that

because of necessary layoffs and staff, there would be large classes. I believe the circular also mentioned something about concerned people picketing City Hall, although that might have been the teacher's suggestion on his own. Louise quickly replied to the suggestion that people picket City Hall by saying, "Well, the only problem with that is you might get arrested." When she had come into the class at the beginning of the period, she had looked out the window for the picketers from the school custodians' and engineers' strike which was going on at the time. On not seeing anyone in front of the main entrance to the school two stories below, she said, "These people better get their thing together."

Mr. Meltzer next started talking about the Egyptian oil line which is to be built with United States funds and the Russian wheat deal of last year. He contrasted these policies which he called "giving to our enemies" with the budget cuts in the schools and tried to get the class to agree with his analogy and analysis of these political situations. He could not get away with that so easily, however. A white boy sitting in the middle of the class who had long blond hair all the way down his back started defending the Russian wheat deal. He said that it made perfect sense in the time it was carried out and that the Egyptian oil line would be of benefit to the United States. The boy spoke very confidently and challengingly and he spoke as if he had presented these opinions himself on other occasions. All of his sentences sounded pat.

The teacher tried another tack at this time. He shied away from these topics and said to the class, "I'll bet none of you can tell me the name of your congressman." Louise spoke immediately and said, "Rangel." The teacher

said, "You must live uptown. Can anyone who lives down here tell me who the congressman from this district is?" No one was able to come up with the name. At this point the teacher went to the board and started drawing a diagram of the Democratic party hierarchy in the city. He drew a line going from precinct captain to district leader to congressman and mayor. He tried to convince the students that it was possible for them to exercise political power if they would read the newspapers. He also told them that they didn't read the newspapers and that that was why they didn't know the name of their congressman.

The long-haired white boy spoke up at this point and began defending the Russian wheat sale again. The teacher shied away from confronting the boy and started talking about Watergate. He made a big list on the board of various infamous figures in the Watergate scandal and started going over it with the students. He started talking about various ones of Nixon's friends who were going to make money from the oil line or who had made money from the wheat sale. Louise asked him, "Are you a Democrat or Republican?" He said he had just changed to Democrat from Independent. The long-haired boy raised his hand to say something but the teacher ignored him.

A Hispanic male sitting in the second row made a comment at the very end of the teacher's rap. He said, "That's no good, man," in a very distinctly deadpan tone of voice. Louise spoke up at this point and said, "There was a Republican last night on television who said the Democrats haven't got the guts to impeach Nixon. That there's not enough evidence." The long-haired boy spoke up at this point and said, "Evidence doesn't matter. It's only the opinions that matter," apparently referring to the

necessary grounds for impeachment. Louise then said, "People won't fight." She said poor people could get together and beat the rich people but that poor people couldn't organize themselves and were sold out by their leaders. The teacher said, "With a 100 million dollars," referring either to the cost of the oil line or the cost of the wheat deal, "Don't you think we could elect somebody?" Someone in the back of the class said, "Vote for him." The students all laughed at this reference to the substitute teacher's political passions. The teacher took it right in stride and said, "Well, if I get pissed off enough, I'm going to run." There was a little sarcastic applause around the room. Someone said, "Why don't you become a congressman?"

After this point in the class, the teacher kept talking about politics, Nixon, Goldwater and states' rights, both of which he defended and the students' attitude seemed to alternate between attention and ridicule. At one point the teacher started railling to the students saying, "You don't read the newspapers." Louise protested loudly, "I do." The long-haired white boy was waving his hand and the teacher finally recognized him by name. He said, "Okay, Harvey," and Harvey began, "Rockefeller strangles the city and superhighways cost \$100,000 a mile. . . ." and would have gone on but the class ended soon after this.

On the way to the fourth period class, I asked Louise where she had gone to junior high school, and she told me the name of a school in Central Harlem.

We proceeded to Mr. Frimmer's mythology class where I had originally met Louise a few days before. I nodded to Mr. Frimmer whom I know a little

bit by this time and told him I was following Louise around. He said, "Louise is really quite a person to follow around," and shook his head uncertainly. Then he told me, "We're not going to do much today." I told him, "Okay." Once again Louise took a seat in the left-hand row of the classroom towards the front and I sat behind her. Before the class had settled down, a white girl in a sleeveless leotard and long dark hair came walking in the front door of the class. Louise said, "Well, look at this," in a tone of voice indicating that the girl did not usually come to class. The white girl raised her middle finger to Louise with a smile and Louise responded in kind.

Mr. Frimmer began the class by showing a paper he had received, a term paper, which he considered good. He started thumbing through it, pointing out all the illustrations, mentioning that it was many pages and that it would have been better if some of it hadn't been written in pencil. Dale, the class clown who sits in front of Louise, started fiddling with the notebook of a black girl who was sitting next to him. Sarah responded immediately and violently. She said, "Dale, I ain't playing with you today." She got up out of her seat and started beating and kicking him as he sat in his seat smiling and covering his face with his hands. At this point, which was about five minutes into the period, three white boys dressed in jeans and plaid shirts with long hair walked into the room. One of the students in the room said, "Look at this. The three stooges." Mr. Frimmer casually introduced them by saying, "These are my shining lights from last year, who are returning." The three boys went and sat in the back of the classroom and did not formally participate in the class although they remained for the duration of it. When

Mr. Frimmer called them his "shining lights," Dale said, "I think I'm going to throw up," fairly audibly.

Shortly after the boys came in, a black girl with a lollipop in her mouth came in and sat down next to Sarah, the girl who had beaten up on Dale. Sarah's stuff was all over the seat where this girl was going to sit and there was quite a bit of commotion as she established herself in her seat.

At about this time, Louise discovered that I was taking notes on everything and started turning around to read my notes. To my dismay, I discovered that she can read perfectly upside down. She read everything I wrote down as soon as it went down even though she was looking at it upside down. When I made a note about the black girl with the lollipop, Louise said, "She's not black, she's Puerto Rican," in a very loud voice, pointing to the girl about whom I had just made the note. I told her not to yell out about it and that we would talk about it later.

After this, Dale got up from the seat in front of Louise and walked over to the other side of the room. A Hispanic male came up to the front of the room and began giving his story report. His story was entitled, "The Cobbler Astrologer." As he began his story, Sarah, sitting next to Louise, opened her wallet and extracted four dollar bills which she waved at Louise who nodded back to her. Sarah put her wallet back and then pulled out a roll of Clorets and offered one to Louise. The story was interrupted as two white girls came into the class late, one of them being the same girl who had come in before and who had left shortly after that. During this interruption Dale got up and walked back and sat in the seat on the other side of the room.

The makeup of this class was as follows: there were three Hispanic females, three white males, two black females, four Chinese females, one Hispanic male, three Chinese males, and seven white females. This is not counting the white males who were visiting the class and who sat in the back of the classroom.

Towards the end of the story, "The Cobbler Astrologer," one of the visiting boys who had long blond hair and was wearing a red sweatshirt, got up and joined one of the white girls in her desk in the back right-hand corner of the classroom. The two of them talked quietly during the rest of the period.

At the end of the story, "The Cobbler Astrologer," the cobbler gets rid of his wife and is rewarded for his cleverness by receiving the king's daughter in marriage. Mr. Frimmer made a comment about the cobbler's getting rid of his wife saying, "You could do that in those days." The students laughed at this. Then a white girl named Diane was called on to give the second report. She went up to the front of the classroom with her notes and said that she was going to read her report which she did. Louise, meanwhile, was testing out my note-taking activities. She borrowed a black glove from Sarah and slapped Dale with it across the back of the head. Dale turned around and gave her a manic grin but she was turned around looking at my notes to see what I would do. I wrote down "Louise slapped Dale with glove." She was able to read it immediately and said, "How embarrassing." I kept on taking notes through this class, but I had to stop during the next class.

After Diane's report, a boy named Sandy went to the front of the class-

room and made a few comments about Irving Place in New York City and the fact that there is now a beauty parlor downstairs in Washington Irving's old house. He told the students that Irving's stories were really typically American stories. This is a class called mythology, but the stories that the students read are folktales from all over the world.

While Mr. Frimmer was talking about Washington Irving and his stories, The Legend of Sleepy Hollow and Rip Van Winkle, a boy in the row next to Louise was looking through her notebook which was filled with neat handwriting.

The teacher talked about Rip Van Winkle a little bit more and the tone for the end of the period sounded. During fifth period, Louise and I went to the student cafeteria and sat down at a table almost by ourselves. I got up for a moment and bought us a couple of sodas and when I came back there was another girl sitting with Louise, a rather fat black female student, whom Louise introduced to me as Lois. Lois got up in about a minute, leaving her coat and pocket book and did not return until the end of the period. I asked Louise if I could interview her a little bit. I asked her questions about some of the things that we had talked about at our last research team meeting. I asked her if she had been in the annex. She told me yes, for one year. Then she had come to the tenth grade in the main building. Now, she is in the 11th grade. I asked her what was the main difference between the annex and the main building. She told me that the annex was in an old building that was falling down. I asked her if she had any perceptions of whether teachers preferred the annex or the main building. She told me that they had asked one of her teachers that while she was in the annex, and the teacher had said he preferred the main building. She gave me additional

information, that black and Puerto Rican students tend to sit on one side of the lunchroom which is in the shape of an L and the Chinese on the other. I asked her where the whites sat. She said they probably sat more on the side with the blacks and Puerto Ricans, although there are usually very few in the cafeteria. She then told me that Delancey Street divides the neighborhood around the school into two areas. She said one side was black and Puerto Rican and the other side was "Jew Town." She told me that on the black and Puerto Rican side there's a lot more crime and dope but that on the Jewish side of Delancey she feels very strange, because if she walks along the street, people stare at her. I asked her if she knew anyone who was in a youth gang. She told me she knew one boy who was, but she hadn't seen him around the school in a while. She told me a story of a threatened gang war that had almost happened while she was in the annex. She said the cause of the conflict was that the girls who lived downtown became jealous of the uptown girls such as herself who came downtown to school. The downtown girls thought that the uptown girls were stealing their boyfriends whom they went to school with. She said this situation had caused one of the gangs to come to school wearing chains. She said their uniform for this kind of confrontation was dungarees, sneakers and chains hanging all over. She told me that the sound of all of them walking along with chains was really terrifying, but that no violence had actually occurred in the school. She next told me that she has to get up at 5:30 in the morning in order to get to school on time. I asked her how the students felt about the principal. She said that they didn't like him because he was so strict and that he had begun suspending people who come to school late. She said, "Nobody's going to

try to sneak into the school that early in the morning." I next asked Louise whether she was aware of drugs being used inside the school. She didn't say too much about this, but told me that there was a teacher in the school whose name she didn't know who was reputed to be a pothead. I said, "Do you mean he comes to school stoned?" She said, "Yeah."

I asked her a story I had heard about a young Puerto Rican guard being fired recently. She told me she had seen the incident: the guard had slapped a girl because she had told him, "I hate you," in Spanish. She also told me that this guard often came in high, either on pot or on liquor. I asked her if it was possible to get into the school by knowing the guards. She said that it wasn't because everyone knew the guards and that they couldn't afford to play favorites.

Louise then told me a story about a famous Harlem organizer. When she mentioned the name, I told her that I had heard of him. She said, "He's a big shot, but you can't trust that dude." She then told me how this character had organized a rent strike in a building on her block. The strike failed, because on the day everyone was supposed to be in the street picketing, some of the tenants went out on the street, but the organizer just rode by in his big car and never publicly associated himself with the effort or came through with any support. This story made me remember her remark in history class about how poor people could not organize themselves.

Next we started talking about how it is possible to tell the difference between blacks and Puerto Ricans. Louise's thesis was, "You can just tell. You know your own kind." I asked her if she could tell the difference by dress." She said, "No, it's not that." I asked her if she could tell the

difference by speech. She said that she could tell even if she didn't hear the person speak. I asked her where most of her friends were from, her neighborhood or school? She said most of her friends were people she had met at Sheridan. She also told me that she didn't have any regular friends, but rather had different friends in every class that she was in. In the course of spending a day with her, I did, indeed, see her speak to a large number of people.

Louise looked up from the table and said, "See that boy?" I turned my head and saw a very dark-skinned boy with an Afro and glasses, walking across the lunch room. She said, "He looks black but he's Puerto Rican," demonstrating her thesis of a few moments before.

I then told her a little bit about our study and explained to her some of our interest in rule-making and rule-breaking. I asked her if she understood why it was better to be absent than to cut a class. She said that she had done that a couple of times, had missed her official period and gone to her regular classes. She said that this was not always possible now because a list is sent around each morning of everyone who is absent the preceding day and that if one's name is on the list, then the teacher would not know that the student had been cutting. She said that she had done this a couple of times anyway and had gotten away with it.

For the last ten or so minutes of the lunch period, we didn't say too much. She talked a bit to three Hispanic males who were sitting at our table. She told me that her sixth period class was Accounting. She told me, "You're going to see some snaps in there." I said, "What do you mean?" She said, "Well, the way some of the people act in there is something."

When the tone sounded, we moved on to her sixth period which is also taught by Mr. Epstein, the electronic data processing teacher. As Louise was sitting down in her seat, there was a black girl leaving the class who yelled something out to Louise. Louise replied, "You better watch yourself, Miss Fast Ass." The other girl said something in reply and left. A white male came in the room and sat down in the row next to us. He was carrying a transistor radio which was playing at a low volume. A Chinese male came into the room; he was rather sensitive and good-looking, had a fancy shag haircut and wore sunglasses. He was greeted by several wolf-whistles as he sat down.

The teacher began the class by saying, "Okay, class, take out your homework." The students took out their accounting books. Not all of them had them but they opened to a specific problem which they were going to work on during the period. A tall black boy wearing glasses and an Afro, also wearing a blue wool jacket with his name, Marshall, sewn onto it, raised his hand and said, "Mr Epstein, may I please have a pass?" Then he added, "This time I'll ask politely; you should give it to me," in a rather defiant tone of voice. He got a pass and left the room. While this transaction was taking place, a Hispanic male started making comments to the teacher: "I'm glad you finally got some new shoes." The teacher was wearing a high-heeled pair of zip boots which did look new. Meanwhile the white boy with the transistor radio had started talking to me. He looked at my notebook and told me, "You should make the teacher look good. This is a good class here, but there are certain people who disrupt it." A black girl sitting in the front of the class had taken a brush out of her purse and was combing

her hair vigorously as the class began. The boy who had left with the pass returned in a few minutes.

The makeup of this accounting class was as follows: there were three black females, six Hispanic males, two white males, two Chinese males and two Hispanic females.

The black girl who had been combing her hair was sitting in the left front seat. She moved over one row to share a desk with a Hispanic girl next to her. The two were looking on at the same book. Most of this class period was spent in working out an accounting problem. The teacher put a balance sheet on the board and they gradually filled in various credits and debits in the appropriate columns. Several of the boys in the room seemed to be quite involved in working out the problems. In particular, there was one black male sitting in the back part of the room and one white male sitting one row over and one seat in front of him who contributed many of the answers to the problems. The class was also quite noisy and there was a great deal of horseplay, including dozens of spitballs.

Mr. Epstein's reprimands in this class, as in his previous class, were short and casual. He did not reprimand every activity which could have merited it but managed to speak up at regular intervals. When they came to certain entries that were needed on the board, the black female (Martha) who was sharing a desk with the Hispanic female in the front of the room raised her hand and the boy from the back of the room said, "Martha always goes for the easy questions." Several spitballs went aloft. Martha seemed a little self-conscious to be answering questions, but she managed to stumble through and produce the right answer. Marshall, on one of his turns to answer, started

saying in a very loud voice, "You credit, you debit, no, you credit, no, you debit," until the class was convulsed in laughter. Marshall then said, "Teacher, you know I don't listen," and slumped back into his desk. The eventual answer to the question that Marshall had failed was that no entry was required. The students immediately began to accuse the teacher of having tried to trick them. The white boy who participated in a lot of the problems said, "Teacher, we never ran across a thing like this before." Then the Spanish boy who had made a comment about the teacher's suit said, as the teacher had his back turned to write something on the board, "Really, that is a nice suit, Mr. Epstein," in a slightly sarcastic tone of voice.

At the end of the class period, Mr. Epstein came over to me and started telling me that this was really not a typical accounting class and that they were totally impossible. He told me that a few people set the level of noise in the class and that it was impossible to undercut them. I pointed out that the students participated in the problem a lot. He said that his major problem was that the black boy in the back of the class was both the smartest kid in the class and the most disruptive and that that made his task even more difficult.

I walked partway down the stairs with him and he told me that he was really glad that this class was almost over because it was one of the worst that he had ever had.

Louise's seventh-period class was gym, so I said goodbye to her and thanked her for letting me follow her around.

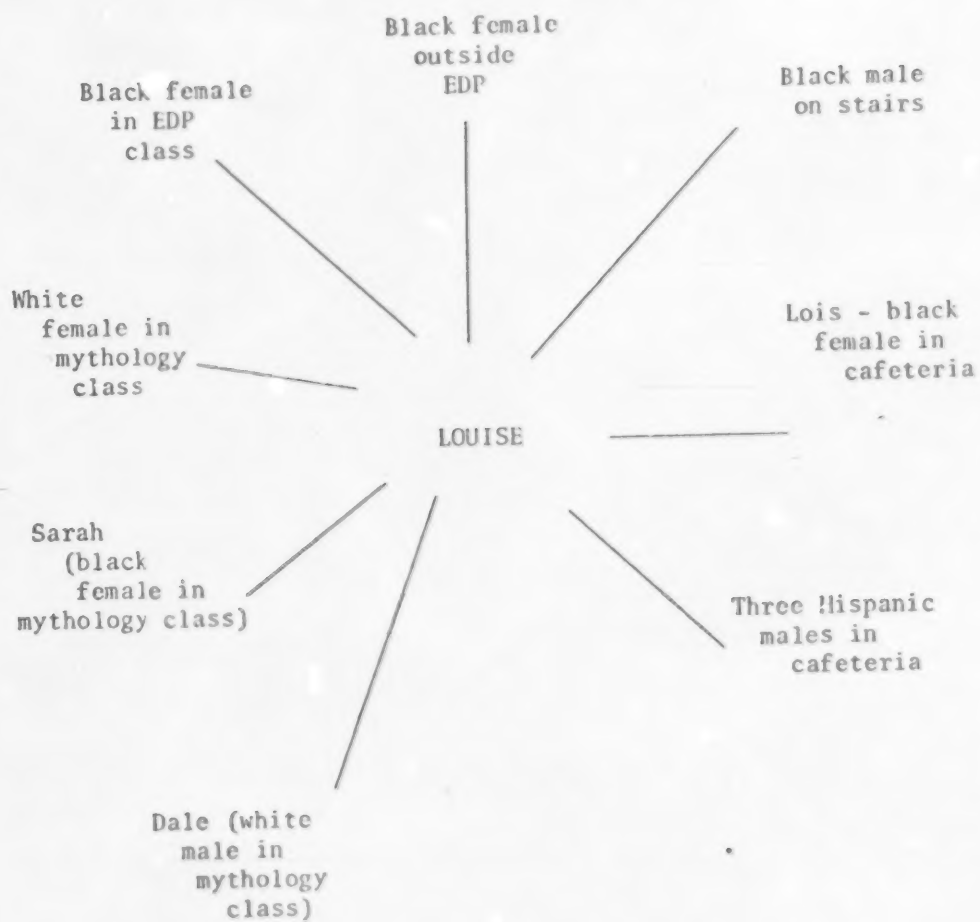
Follow-up note: a few months later, I ran into Louise and asked her if she had passed all the classes I had visited with her. She made a face at me. Apparently, attendance is her major problem in school.

Analysis. Louise Marshall is a black female student who comes downtown to high school from Harlem. Her socio-economic status is probably low, although she does not appear to be terribly poor. She exhibits a high level of political awareness. The fact that she knows the name of her Congressman in contrast to the non-Harlem students in her class is probably representative of Harlem's generally high level of politicization.

Her friendship pattern, by her own report, is dispersed and casual. The fact that most of her acquaintances in the school are black but that she has met them in class and not outside in the community is highly significant. This suggests that ethnicity has served as a powerful recruitment factor within the school.

Her relationship with the formal structure of the school is troubled by her propensity to absence and tardiness; she blames having to get up early and make the long trip downtown for part of these problems. When she does attend class, however, she is a lively participant in whatever is going on, be it the formal lesson or the informal interactions which often threaten to swamp the formal lesson in the level of classes to which she is assigned. Her English class (Mythology) is a regular and not a modified (slow learner) class, indicating that her reading scores are respectable. Her lively verbal ability and the fact that she reads the newspapers regularly tend to confirm that supposition. She is clearly in the business segment of the school's curriculum, however, in which black and Hispanic students predominate.

LOUISE'S FRIENDSHIP NETWORK



A Day in the Life of Mike Edwards

Today, I went to meet Mike Edwards in the Student Organization office at the end of the fourth period. We had arranged to conduct a tape-recorded interview during his fifth period lunch. Mike is black but he lives near the school, not uptown.

I met Mike in the Student Organization office at the end of last week. When I was in that office on Friday, I saw the usual crowd of students who hang out there during their free periods. Mike, whom I had not seen before, was sitting behind the desk that is just to the left as you enter the office. When I came in, he was in the middle of a low-key argument with a chubby white male student named Chet who is involved with all the drama productions. They had some difference of opinion over who was going to do what in relation to the lighting of the upcoming school production of "Bye, Bye, Birdie". Chet left to the office, and I heard Mike say to Lucy Han, a Chinese female who is a member of the Student Organization Executive Council this year, "Chet used to always say that he was the only one who knows how to run that light board, but now he knows that I ran it all by myself last time when he didn't show up."

A few minutes later, the Student Organization advisor, a teacher named Nancy Morgenstern, went over and started talking to Mike about the upcoming elections for the Student Organization Executive Council. The first thing she did when she walked over to him was to ask him about his grades. She wanted to know if his overall average was above 80. He told her that it was, and she immediately began trying to persuade him to run in the elections. Perhaps I should explain about the Student Organization Executive Council.

They are the umbrella student organization and actually have considerable power in that the school system gives the school a per capita amount for student activities and the student-elected Student Organization Council gets to allocate this money, plus the dues that students pay (some students do not pay dues, which are voluntary), to the various clubs, teams, and activities such as shows and dances. In Sheridan, however, only a small percentage of the students participate in any kind of extra-curricular activities. As a result, few students pay their Student Organization dues and few vote in the Student Organization Council elections. In addition, there here is a rule that all Council members must have a minimum academic average of 80, and that further restricts the potential members of the Council. Every year, the advisors have to look around for eligible students and try to convince them to run. Sometimes, all the spots are not even filled. This year, a lot of the Student Organization Council work was done by a Hispanic male, Fred Concepcion, whose grades are too low for him to be an official member. Fred likes to hang around the office and he has become a regular but unofficial member. I should also mention that the Student Organization Council always seems to have at least one black, one Hispanic, one Chinese, and one white member. I don't know exactly how this comes about, but the advisors admit that they try to get somebody from every group in the election. The resulting mix must be the combined result of the advisors' recruitment and student voting patterns.

When I saw Miss Morganstern recruiting this student, therefore, I became interested and decided to try to interview him. I had to wait until she finished talking, which took a while. After she tried to recruit him for the election, she then started trying to recruit him for her new elective

class the next term. I finally managed to speak to him. He seemed interested and we agreed to meet today during lunch period for an interview.

I went down to the Student Organization office to look for Mike where he was sitting with a lot of the kids who normally hang out there. He told me that he wanted to go to the cafeteria to get a snack before we started the interview. I went up to the cafeteria with Mike, Fred Concepcion (who is Puerto Rican) and Frank Mondavi (who is Italian). Frank immediately started giving me a guided tour of the school, saying that they would do everything as they normally did it and would not change anything for my benefit. I told Fred that I was going to hire Frank as a social scientist if he kept being so wise.

On the way up, Frank asked Mike for a program card for 6th period. Mike whipped out his wallet and started looking through a bunch of program cards. Fred Concepcion explained to me, "Mike is well-known for having program cards for every period." As we got to the fifth floor, Mike spotted Mr. Dawkins, and said, "Uh oh, there's Mr. Dawkins." Mike said, "I woke up late this morning, so I came in late today. I'm cutting school. I have a test 8th period." So he tried to slink past Mr. Dawkins and I tried to block for him, but Mike didn't really want to get past him and he kind of lingered until Mr. Dawkins could see him. Mr. Dawkins is one of the few black teachers in the school.

Let us explain here what all this business with the program cards and having to avoid Mr. Dawkins is all about. The school has a rule that once a student goes into the cafeteria at the beginning of his or her lunch period, s/he must stay there for the duration of the period. This rule is intended to keep students from wandering about the halls and stairwells during class

periods. They may only leave to go to the bathroom, in which case they must trade their program card for a pass and return the pass in order to get the all-important program card back. To get in or out of the cafeteria, the student must display the program card. The card lists the student's schedule so that the aide at the door, or any adult for that matter, can look and see if the student is legitimately supposed to be there during that period. Mike had somehow managed to obtain six program cards and had filled them out with six different schedules so that he can justify his presence anywhere in the school at any period of the day. Mike's friend Frank was cutting his assigned class this period and needed one of Mike's extra cards to get into the cafeteria with him and Fred.

Mike was worried about Mr. Dawkins because he is being officially counted absent today. The official attendance at the school is only taken during the official period. Students often get themselves counted absent for the day if they want to cut some classes and go to others, because cutting is a more serious infraction than an absence, which can easily be justified with a note, often forged. Mike got to school late and has been counted absent, but he doesn't want to miss his music test with Mr. Dawkins later.

Then we went to the cafeteria. Mike showed his program card to the lady in the cafeteria and we went in and milled around for a little bit and went over to a section where Mike said the College Discovery Program kids usually sit together. Mike pointed out a black male to me and said, "That's the boy I told you about Friday who's my best friend, Eddie Roberts." We sat at the table next to Eddie where there were also some other black males and Hispanic females sitting. I sat down with Mike and Frank. Frank went off

to get some food and Mike started explaining to me that Frank used to come to gym classes wearing underwear that was longer than his gym shorts, so he earned the nickname "Filthy Frank." Frank came back a minute later and then Mike went to the cafeteria line and came back with some Hostess cakes called Susie Q's. Mike said to me, "Now Frank will demonstrate the proper way to eat a Susie Q." Frank opened his Susie Q, which is a couple of devil's food cakes over some white creamy filling, and he began eating it and then sticking his tongue back out with some of the white creamy filling on it. Mike and Fred Concepcion broke up at this. Frank turned around to do this trick for the other table. Eddie Roberts, as soon as he saw Frank turn around, said, "Cut it out. I'm not going to mess with you today." Fred then explained to me that some people wouldn't sit with Frank any more in the cafeteria. Mike explained to me that different kids in the cafeteria earned nicknames for different reasons. He pointed out one kid and said, "We call him the Marine." The kid he was pointing out was a white male who was tall, heavy, and dressed very neatly and "straight" in a pair of grey pants and a striped shirt with short combed hair and glasses. He was carrying a brief case and walking in a very resolute fashion across the cafeteria.

I asked Mike what he would do if he were going to write a handbook for new students in the school, telling them how to get along. He told me the first thing that he would do would be to explain how to fix the doors in the building so that people could get in and out without going past the aides and the security people. He told me that he got extra program cards by getting to know teachers. He said that if you get to know teachers, they'll do things for you, but they expect for you to do favors for them in return usually. I asked him what kinds of things the teacher would expect

in return. He thought for a moment and then said, "Well, you know, a little cooperation." I said, "You mean like setting a good example for the rest of the class and that sort of thing?" He nodded his head affirmatively. He said that the way to get a program card is to get a teacher to like you and then just go up and tell him that you've lost your program card. He told me that one time he had been caught in the cafeteria. He hadn't had an appropriate program card, but he just told the teacher, "I lost it," and the teacher knew him, so he was able to get away with being there.

As we were walking out of the cafeteria, Mr. Dawkins said, "Mike, I see you have a body guard today," referring to me. Then Mr. Dawkins spoke to me and said, "He has a test today, 8th period. Don't let him miss it."

As we passed Mr. Dawkins, I said to Mike, "You got caught, huh?" Mike said that he didn't really mind, that actually Mr. Dawkins is a pretty good teacher.

Mike and I then left Fred and Frank and we went up to the room on the sixth floor that the school has allowed us to use for interviews. I taped the first of four long interviews with Mike. I will summarize here some of the things he told me about himself and his life in and out of school.

Mike was born in Virginia but his parents moved to the Bronx when he was still a baby. When he was five years old, the family moved down to the neighborhood around the school. Thus, he has always gone to school in this neighborhood. He has four brothers and four sisters and he is in the middle in terms of age. Two of his older siblings have already attended Sheridan and his younger sister will start here next year. Mike has been in special school programs since elementary school, when he switched to another school

in order to be enrolled in an IGC (Intellectually Gifted Children) class. At Sheridan, he is enrolled in the College Discovery Program, which is intended for students of low socio-economic status and high ability test scores. Mike told me that he enjoys these special programs because a small group gets to stay together over the years and they become very close. Frank Mondavi and Eddie Roberts are also in this program. Mike also has a long history of friendships with teachers and social workers of various sorts. In junior high school, he became close to a shop teacher who ran an after-school center. In Sheridan, he is close to the teachers who work on stage productions. He is proud of his ability to run the light-board and looks forward to next year when Chet leaves and he will be the most experienced technical person on the stage crew. Sheridan does have an old but big and well-equipped auditorium with stage and lighting facilities.

Mike has always had friends from many ethnic groups. His IGC classes in elementary school were always mixed. The group of Sheridan students that puts on the plays has members from all ethnic groups. Outside of school, he has participated in many community activities such as the after-school center mentioned before, the Police Athletic League, in which he now coaches and referees for younger kids, and also the Chinatown Planning Council. He lives right across the street from Chinatown and often hangs around this Planning Council (one of the anti-poverty agencies) where he has several Chinese friends. He says his brothers sometimes tease him and call him Chinese because of these friends and because he has small eyes. His family also attends a Lutheran church in the neighborhood, most of whose congregation is Chinese. Mike's single best friend, however, is the black male,

Eddie Roberts, who lives uptown in Harlem. The two met in the College Discovery Program (which is predominantly black and Hispanic in membership) at Sheridan and often visit each other's neighborhoods after school and on weekends. The following is an excerpt of our taped interview in which Mike describes a group of his friends who come from various ethnic groups (he calls them "races"):

Mike: And in this little peer group we have about four or five different races.

Interviewer: Yeah?

Mike: Like Marlon, he's Chinese. We have Freddie. He's Puerto Rican. We have Frank. He's Italian. We have Richard. He's an idiot. I'm black, you know. You know, like having all these different races, like being able to get along that well, and like there's a slight bit of prejudice, you know, in each person because that can't really be avoided, but, like, by being able to tell, you know, racial jokes and talking about each other, it really lets it out. Like it isn't something that's you know, kept inside, or like you're talking behind somebody's back, prejudice, you know? Like if you talk about food, you always use watermelon against me and we use pizza against Frank, and egg roll against Marlon and stuff like that. Like it's really fun, you know. We have a lot of fun.

Interviewer: So you do have as many friends from other races as you do black friends?

Mike: I think I have. . .

Interviewer: I mean have you always been that way?

Mike: Yeah, it's always been because of the different schools I went to. Like in the classes, like the classes that were so mixed, that I got

to know so many people from different races. I remember like when I was younger, my brothers, they used to call me Chinese and everything

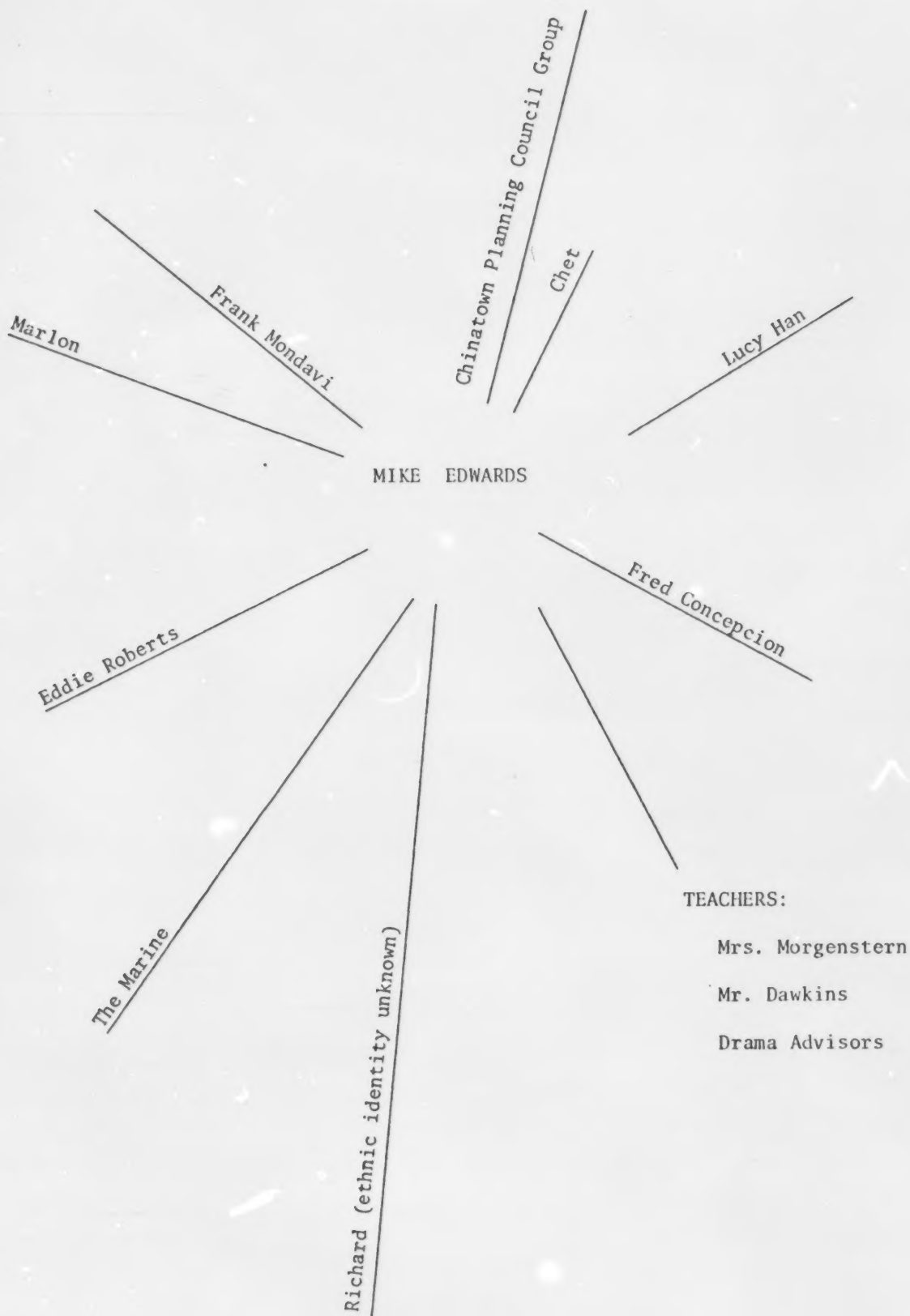
Analysis.

Mike Edwards is a black male student of lower income background who lives in the ethnically diverse neighborhood around Sheridan High School. His family has migrated to the metropolis from the South within the past twenty years. He has always gone to school in this neighborhood, and has always been in ethnically mixed classes.

His personal friendship network includes members of all the major groups in the school: blacks, whites, Chinese, and Hispanics. These friendships have grown out of school experiences as well as his activities in numerous community service organizations in the neighborhood. Even within his own family, Mike has a reputation for having lots of non-black friends. His single closest friend, however, is a black male who lives not in the neighborhood but uptown. They met in school but associate in both neighborhoods outside of school. This relationship suggests that in Mike's case, also, eo-ethnicity has served as a recruitment factor in the composition of his friendship network. The overall ethnic diversity of his network probably also owes much to his having been labeled as "intellectually gifted" early in his school career and thus put into special classes which were more mixed than regular classes.

His feelings toward school are personal and intense and his relations with the school are strong but often troubled. On the one hand, he expects a great deal from formal institutions and spends much of his time in them. He often takes constructive roles such as doing extra work and supervising young children. On the other hand, he is quite cynical about rules and regu-

lations, and he can become quite angry when he feels that he is being slighted. At the time of our interviews, he reported that he had recently been having some difficulties and that his grades were falling. He conceives his relations to institutions in personal terms, as a set of mutual responsibilities between himself and particular, individual adults.



A Day in the Life of Lucy Han

I went down to the student organization office and spent most of the rest of the day hanging around there. I introduced myself to a Spanish male whom I had seen hanging around the student organization office regularly. His name is Robert and he helped me a lot. I showed him the list that Miss Morgenstern had given me of student organizations and asked if he knew anything about any of them. He told me that in fact he had helped her make up this list. He went through the list with me telling me various things in conjunction with other students who kept walking in and out of the Student Organization office during the period and whom he consulted for information at various points.

He told me that there was some question about the continued existence of the Spanish culture club which is called Aspira. He said he thinks it's still officially going, but it had been cut off from the student organization because the Student Organization had asked for dues from all members of Aspira and had not received them. Therefore, Aspira had been cut out of the Student Organization budget. Someone came in then, though, and said that Aspira was definitely alive and well and that they were about to start a clothing drive in a few weeks. He told me that the German Club is still going on under the advisorship of Mrs. Ernstoff but that the Russian Club was defunct as of now.

While I was talking to Robert, I also renewed my acquaintance with the tall Spanish male, Fred, and introduced myself to a white female named Betsy who was dressed in blue jeans and a sweat shirt.

While I was in the office, everyone tried to sell me tickets to the "Battle of the Bands" to be held February 22nd. They told me that there were to be Latin, soul and rock bands at the battle, four bands in all. There would be disk jockeys from WABC.

As I was talking to Robert, Maureen Flanagan walked in and said, "Where's the projector?" Everyone became involved in getting the projector set up. They were about to have the first screening of the film "Willowbrook, The Last Great Disgrace," which they are going to show to publicize the battle of the bands which, in turn, is being held as a benefit for "One To One" an organization for retarded children that is trying to replace Willowbrook.

I went with most of the Student Organization members to one of the large lecture rooms in the front part of the building on the third floor. The Student Organization members, Lucy Han, Maureen Flanagan, Fred Gregory, Robert Morales, Betsy Schreiber, Maggie Waters, and one blond-haired white female student whose name I do not know, were hanging around in the back of this room while Henry Timberlake, the S.P.A.R.K. counselor was setting up the projector. (S.P.A.R.K. is a drug education program; Mr. Timberlake is black.) The Student Organization members kept leaving the room and walking back with sandwiches and cake.

About five minutes into the period, a class led by a young woman teacher filed in the front door and took seats. Ray Hasselman, the teacher who advises the Student Organization Council, announced the film which was the same film as was shown on the evening news a year or more ago by Geraldo Rivera. Then the film began. There was some trouble getting the film started. The film broke a couple of times and Robert went over to fix

the projector.

After the film had been going on for about ten minutes, I left the room and went back to the student organization office. As I left the room, I ran into Robert in the hall and I was also coming out at the same time as the blond girl. He said to both of us, "What's the matter? You couldn't take it?" The blond female student seemed somewhat upset about the film. We went back into the Student Organization office.

Robert and the girl looked at my notes and she accused me of writing down only bad things. I said, "What do you mean, bad? What's bad there?" pointing to my page of notes. She pointed to my note about the broken projector. Robert suggested I add "Then everything runs cool," which I did. It seemed to satisfy them. Someone in the office at that time suggested that I study the girls' basketball team. I said, "Why should I do that? Are they really good?" Roy Hasselman said, "Good? They're 13 and 0. You can't beat that."

Then I asked Robert about the official membership of the Student Organization Executive Council. He told me that there's no official president or vice-president at this time because people who had held those positions had had to resign because of conflicts. These two people were Jose Diaz, who had been president and Anita Ruiz, who had been vice president. The members of the Council at the present time are Maureen Flanagan, treasurer; Lucy Han, Senior Class representative; Maggie Waters, junior class representative.

Maureen was coming in and out of the room and the people in the room at that time, Lucy and Robert and Ray Hasselman, the advisor, were discussing how upset she seemed to be today. The conjecture was that that she

was upset over her calculus class because she hates the teacher. Ray Hasselman at one point said, "If Maureen doesn't go to Math today, I'm going to kill her." But when Maureen walked in a bit later, Ray asked her if anything were the matter. She said, "Everything." He asked if he could do anything. She shrugged and walked out.

Ray then started talking to me about the Student Organization Executive Council. He said that the constitution allowed 15 on the Executive Council, but that there had never been that many. He said the working group consisted of Maureen, Lucy, Maggio, and Melinda, plus Louis Feldman who is a Spanish male. Louis has recently changed his name from Garcia to Feldman since his mother remarried. Louis, however, is only an adjunct member of the Council because his grade average is not high enough for him to be a full member of the Executive Council. Someone yelled to Ray at this time, "That kid is here about the band." A young black male student with a tall Afro came in and talked to Ray for a few moments. I heard someone tell him that the bands were supposed to play only one thirty-minute set apiece, so that there was nothing to worry about. Then the student from the band told Ray, "I have to go to class now." Ray told him, "I'll get in touch with you for a meeting next Monday or Tuesday. Then we'll go over all the rules and everything." The student shrugged, said, "Okay, " and left the room.

I went back to the Student Organization office, where I ran into Lucy Han. I asked her about the Chinese Culture Club. She told me she was not a good person to ask because she wasn't a member anymore. She was, nonetheless, able to tell me the names of the president and vice-president of the club. The president's name is Peter Yee. The vice-president's name is Steven Wong. Steven Wong walked into the office about that time. Lucy

referred me to him. He told me the names of the rest of the officers of the Chinese Culture Club. The treasurer's name is Henry Yee. He is Peter Yee's younger brother. The Chinese secretary's name is Steven Yuen. There are also three English secretaries, and a singing director.

Steven Wong was commandeered at this point by Nancy Morganstern, a Student Organization advisor, who had a sheet of paper that she wanted translated into Chinese. She at first asked Lucy, but Lucy said that she was not good at Chinese. Then Nancy pounced upon Steven. She told him that she needed it in a hurry and Steven started working on it. He kept being interrupted by other people in the office and Nancy kept yelling at him to finish the translation. She also kept asking him if he knew anyone who could read the announcement in Chinese over the intercom.

While this was going on, I went over to talk to Maureen Flanagan, who was sitting at the far end of the Student Organization office reading a book and apparently trying not to talk to anybody. She told me the other day that she was on the math team. I asked her if she could tell me the names of people on the math team. She did so. She said that there is only one official position, that of president, and that position is held by Henry Yee. The other members of the math team are Peter Yee, Steven Wong, herself, Kin Tang and Ta Yip. She told me that the math team meets once a week and that the acting coach of the math team is Miss Ormly. The former coach of the math team had been Mr. Griffin, but Mr. Griffin had now gone to the Annex. I asked her about the special math class that she had told me existed for the math team. She said that it had existed for several semesters previously. It has been called "Advanced Math Problems," but it did not

exist now that Mr. Griffin had gone to the Annex. He had been the teacher of the class.

I thanked Maureen for the information and she went back to her book. Lucy Han came back into the office and said, "Did you hear about the fight? You missed that. It was yesterday." I said, "What fight?" She said, "It was up on the fifth floor during the 7th period. There were four Chinese kids and four Spanish kids." I asked other people around the Student Organization office if they knew anything about it, but no one seemed to.

Lucy and I continued talking for a while. She told me about an argument that she had had with the new guard downstairs, a Chinese named Jay. She said she was mad at him because he had started asking her why she didn't dress, talk, or act like other Chinese kids in the school. She thought his comments were "a little fresh." She said that he had only been working in the school for two weeks and seemed to know a lot for that short a time in the school.

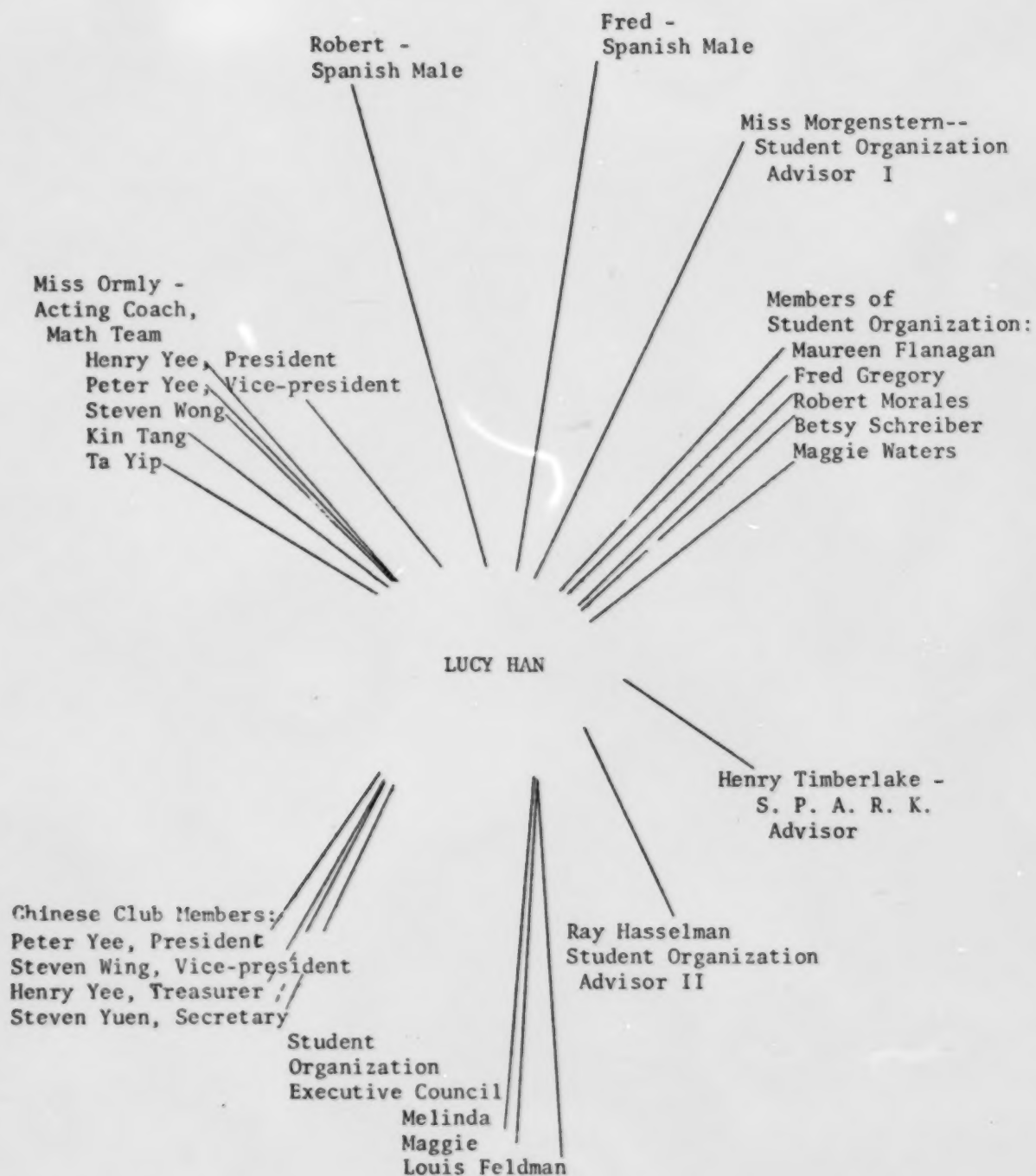
I asked her if Jay had seen the fight. She said, "No," but then proceeded to tell me that there is a Dominican kid who hangs out in the cafeteria is trying to start fights. He yells and screams. She said, "He speaks in Spanish so no one can understand what he is saying, but he eventually managed to provoke four Chinese kids. That was how the fight started yesterday and it almost happened again today. What this guy does is to get the Chinese and Puerto Ricans mad at each other and then when they start to fight, he runs away."

Lucy then began talking about her relationship to the other Chinese in the school. She said she encounters a lot of hostility, especially from students who are members of the Chinese Culture Club. She said the reasons for this hostility are that she is too bold for the Chinese norm, she talks too loud, and she's generally too forward and aggressive. Also, she does not speak Chinese. She said that when she walks into the Chinese Culture Club, some people stop talking and just look at her for a moment and then go back to what they were doing. She said that she is friends, however, with some of the officers of the Culture Club. She said that the guard Jay had asked her if she were really white. I asked her if Chinese people referred to non-Chinese people as white and she told me the word "banana" which means yellow on the outside and white on the inside. (Note: I have heard black students use the word "Oreo" in the same way.) Lucy said that she had grown up on the Lower East Side where she had known a lot of Jewish kids. Before that she had lived in Brooklyn where she had lived near a lot of black kids. She says that she has experimented hanging out with different kinds of people during her high school career. Then we talked about her college plans. She has applied to Yale, which I attended, and we have talked before about her decision as to whether she should go there if she is accepted. She showed me her big project for her English teacher, Dr. Rossini. Dr. Rossini is a woman who is new to the school this year and is Lucy's favorite teacher. Lucy's project is a long essay on the novels of William Faulkner.

Lucy next told me that six Chinese non-students had just tried to come into the school and had been thrown out. A woman teacher came up to us shortly after that and said, "I noticed the visiting dignitaries downstairs from the local precinct." We told her about the six Chinese non-students

and the fights that had been going on, and talked to her for a few moments. I then said good-bye to both of them and left the school for the day.

Additional notes on Lucy Han: Lucy did in fact go on from Sheridan to Yale. Our fieldworker discussed Lucy's Faulkner essay with her teacher, Dr. Rossini, a few weeks after the day recounted above. Dr. Rossini commented at that time that she was disappointed with the essay, because it lacked original comment and seemed taken largely from library sources. Dr. Rossini, who teaches many of the honors English classes at Sheridan, said that she was disappointed with Lucy because she was "certainly the best student in the school in English and she should have been able to do more than that." Lucy's father is an M. D. who received his education in the United States. Her family lives in the middle-class housing by the river, not in Chinatown.



Analysis

Lucy Han is an American-born, non-Chinese-speaking Chinese female from a middle-class family. Like that of Mike Edwards, her personal friendship network includes members of various ethnic groups. The student government body to which she belongs in Sheridan is also polyethnic and contributes a large part of her close associates in school. Inasmuch as the student government is partially the result of ethnic voting patterns among students and partially the result of recruitment by faculty advisors trying to bring about an ethnically diverse group, we see here in microcosm some of the peculiarities of the ethnic politics of the larger metropolis. Voting and appointments along ethnic lines creates a political structure with members of different groups who must then work together. Thus, the ethnic politician's interactions from day to day are often with members of other groups as much as or even more than with members of his/her own group.

Although Lucy Han spends more time with non-Chinese than with other Chinese students in Sheridan, she is intimately familiar with what the other Chinese students are doing. Her position in the school mirrors the position of a certain group of Chinese in the larger community. To understand this correspondence, it is useful to compare Lucy and Steven Wong, the Chinese-speaking Chinese student we saw doing translations for Miss Morganstern. Both Lucy's and Steven's fathers are professionals, but Steven's father was educated in China and Lucy's father in the United States. Steven is one of a number of Chinese students who do extremely well in math and science but who have language difficulties with subjects such as English and History, since they, too, received part of their education in Hong Kong.

Steven's group also controls the Chinese Culture Club, the most active student club in the school. Many of the members of the club are also primarily Chinese speaking and recent immigrants from Hong Kong and elsewhere, but they are much lower class than either Steven or Lucy. Their parents are the waiters and factory workers whose lives are closely circumscribed by the Chinatown ghetto. We could also have included the case of lower-class, English-speaking Chinese and Chinese youth gangs. Gang members are rarely found in school, however. In recent years, Chinatown has been troubled by rivalries between English-speaking and Chinese-speaking youth gangs.

Thus, the factors of class and date of immigration combine to include at least four groups of Chinese in Sheridan: middle class and English-speaking; middle-class and Chinese speaking; lower class and English-speaking; and lower class and Chinese-speaking. Middle class, English-speaking Chinese like Lucy are often among Sheridan's best students in most college preparatory segments of the curriculum. Middle-class, Chinese speaking students often do extremely well in advanced math and science classes and not so well in other subjects. Chinese speaking students of all income levels of course fill much of the English as a Second Language and bilingual classes. Lower-class, English-speaking students are those who are particularly likely to become involved in trouble.

The next case to be presented is that of Cindy Ng, a lower-class Chinese student who speaks Chinese as a first language.

A Day In The Life of Cindy Ng

I arrived at the school at 9:15 and went directly to the Dean's Office to meet Cindy Ng. She was working on some papers with Mark Kelton. Cindy had a set of papers and she would read off a name. Mr. Kelton would check it on one list and the Spanish female student with them would check it on another. They worked on this for some time until the bell rang. The papers concerned students' eligibility for the free lunch program.

Cindy got her coat and her books and we walked outside with Mark Kelton toward the elevator. Annie May, Cindy's best friend, had just joined us. Cindy said to Mark, "Mr. Kelton, can we go up in the elevator with you?" Mark said, "Okay, we'll see if we can." We walked over to the elevator which was packed with teachers and quite a few young people. There must have been 6 or 7 students in addition to Annie and Cindy. We got on the elevator and we went up to the fourth floor to Cindy's official class.

We waited outside the door until the bell rang and the room began to empty out. Cindy walked in the back door, opened up her locker at the back of the room, and put her coat inside. Annie was outside and said she wasn't going to go into the official class; she wasn't going to put her coat away. She was going to keep it with her. Cindy came back out. I asked her, "don't you have to stay in the room or anything like that?" She said, "No, I just hang up my coat. That's my official. Now I go to class" I don't know how Annie's attendance was recorded, since she did not go inside. Maybe she waved to the teacher when I wasn't looking.

We walked down the center corridor and went down the staircase that is in the center of the middle wing. We walked downstairs and then into the third period English class in room 322 with Miss Licht. I walked up to the front of the room to tell the teacher that I was there as we had arranged the

day before. She said, "Fine; take any seat that you want."

There were seventeen people in the room. Three people came in late. I made some notes on the general breakdown of the class. I'm not sure how accurate it is because I was sitting in the back of the class and I couldn't see everybody, but there were 20 people all together in the class. There were 13 girls and 7 boys. Ethnically the class was broken down as follows: one white female, 8 Hispanic people, 6 blacks and 5 Chinese.

Cindy took her seat, which was in the second row front, right next to the teacher's desk. There were two black male students there who didn't belong in the class. A black female in the class -- Peggy -- called across the room to one of them, "What are you doing here? Get out of here." Then the teacher saw them and told them to go. They got up and left by the back door.

When the bell rang, the teacher closed the front door. The back door was already closed. She came to the center of the room and she said, "Who needs a pencil?" Three people held up their hands. She gave them each a pen, not a pencil.

Later on in the class, a student in the front of the room (a black male whose name was Leroy) called out, "Teacher, I need a pen." She looked for a pen and said, "I'm sorry. I don't have any more."

After the pens were given out, the teacher said, "There will be a test tomorrow, the weekly vocabulary test. This vocabulary is the same that you will have on the midterms. You will have to read a vocabulary word in a passage and you will have to get the definition of the word from the context in which it is used. Does anybody remember what context means?" Cindy made an explanation of context, but I could not hear exactly what

she said. The teacher acknowledged it and said, "Yes, that's more or less what context is. Is there anybody else that remembers what we said context is? A Hispanic female named Angela, sitting in back of Cindy, said, "Context is the way a word is used." The teacher said, "Right. That's what context is."

The teacher then handed out a mimeographed piece of paper with ten sentences on it, each containing one key vocabulary word. She said, "The first word is 'convey'." It was at this point that Leroy said, "I need a pen." She explained what "convey" meant and used the word in a sentence. Now, at this point, a black male walked in the back of the classroom with his coat on and sat down. About two minutes later, another black male walked in the front door of the classroom and sat down. Then a few minutes after that, probably about ten minutes into the period, a Hispanic male walked in the front door of the classroom, handed the teacher a note, and took his seat in the class.

The next vocabulary word was "consume." Angela answered the question again.

The next word was "relinquish." Before the teacher defined the word, she asked what part of speech "relinquish" is. Cindy said, "It's a verb." The teacher said, "That's right." She put examples of verbs on the board and said, "These words are verbs and they start with the word 'to'."

The class continued in this fashion through the list of ten vocabulary words in sentences. The teacher would first ask the students for definitions and then give her own and then put them in some context. The two most participative students were two black students, Peggy and Anthony.

The teacher then said to the class, "For the remainder of the period, I want you to write each of these words in a sentence and be sure you use the words correctly. Pay attention to the part of speech that the word is. When you're finished writing the sentences, we'll put the sentences on the board. We'll have volunteers or victims to put the sentences up on the board." The students all started working on their sentences. I forgot to mention that earlier when the class started working on the vocabulary, one of the males sitting in the last row in the last seat was sort of singing a song to himself. Another male in the first row in the second to the last seat whistled a couple of times.

The teacher walked around the room checking people's papers, conferring with students, looking at what they were writing. Then she called on some people to write on the board. Four girls volunteered to put up the first sentences.

The teacher called on Cindy and said, "Would you like to put up a sentence?" and she said, "No." Then the teacher called on David, a black male, and said, "David, would you like to put up a sentence?" He said, "No." She tried unsuccessfully to get volunteers. Finally, she said, "All right. I'll put up number 9."

The class started going over the sentences. The second sentence was one that Peggy put up, "I consumed the race when I had won." The teacher read the sentence to the class and then asked, "Is that all right?" One of the students yelled out, "That doesn't make any sense." Then the teacher asked, "Who wrote this sentence?" Nobody said anything. I looked at Peggy and she was sort of smiling and looking at the teacher. Somebody said, "Peggy did." The teacher said, "This is wrong." Anthony came up with another

sentence using 'consumed' in which the word was used correctly.

They had just finished doing this when the bell rang. As soon as the bell rang, people put their books away and got up and started walking right out of the room. The teacher called after them, "Remember, there's a vocabulary test tomorrow."

Cindy and I went downstairs to the second floor, again using the staircase in the center of the hall near the second corridor, and entered the reading clinic in room 231A. When we entered, most of the students were already there. Cindy took her seat. The teacher, Mrs. Hiebert, made room for me to sit next to Cindy. She had one of the other students move for the day. To Cindy's left was her friend, Annie Moy. Across the table was Angela, the Hispanic female from English class. Directly across from Cindy was a white male who didn't say anything to anybody during the entire period. At the far end near the teacher's desk in a corner there were two black males both wearing jackets and large Afro hairstyles. They were reading a sports package. Five or six Spanish girls sat along two long rows of tables.

When we came into the room, Cindy sat down next to Annie and they immediately started talking in Chinese and laughing. I heard my name mentioned a couple of times. Cindy said to me, "She's asking about you. She wants to know what you're doing." Then Cindy started talking in Chinese again. Angela was handing out folders to everybody in the room. The teacher didn't give directions to anybody. People just came into the room and were either given their folders by Angela or took reading packages out of the various boxes in the room. Then they sat down and started working right away.

When Angela finished giving out the booklets, she came and sat down at

the desk across from me. Angela called to a black female, "Are you going Friday night?" The girl said, "Oh, yeah, I can't wait to go." Then Angela turned around and started doing her work.

Within about three minutes of the bell's having run, all of the students were in seats and were working on their particular folders. It was very quiet in the room. If there was any talking at all, it was mostly confined to soft talking between two people. The teacher was sitting at a table working with a group of three females. The right side of the room was one of the movable partitions and you could very easily hear the teacher in the other room speaking. You could hear her almost as though you were in the room. One of the students complained about the noise and said in a very loud voice, "That teacher always talks so loud."

At the table where Cindy was sitting, each student had a reading book and an answer sheet. The book consisted of a series of paragraphs and about ten questions at the end of the paragraph. The students at Cindy's table worked the entire period by themselves. The teacher stayed only with one group of girls. She didn't work with anybody else except to assist them if they had a question. Cindy and Angela and the white male at the table read all of their material and filled in an answer sheet. Sometimes Angela would laugh and say, "Oh, Cindy, you should read number 53." Once the two of them started giggling and the teacher said, "What are you giggling about? Is it something that you're reading?" They said, "Yes." She said, "Oh, Okay."

Annie did not take a reading book. She had her own paperback book, which was stamped on the side, "Sheridan High School Library". It was an Agatha Christie novel. About 20 minutes into the period, Miss Hiebert came

over and saw that she was reading this book. She asked her why she wasn't doing the work she was supposed to be doing and what she was reading. Annie held up the Agatha Christie book. Miss Hiebert said, "you could read that any time." Annie said something and then Miss Hiebert said, "All right, you can do that, but tomorrow, work doubly hard."

Cindy and Angela started talking to each other again. Angela looked up and said, "Cindy, do you know that teacher that's taking Miss Stearn's place?" Cindy said, "I don't like that teacher." Angela said, "I like to bother her." They discussed what room each of them was going to. Cindy was going to different rooms than Angela and they were trying to figure out how Angela could tell Cindy whether or not the teacher who was substituting for Miss Stearns was there.

Just after they were talking, Miss Hiebert came over to the table and said to the two girls, "You know that test you took? Well, you didn't do very well on the sequencing. So tomorrow, instead of working with the reader, you should work on sequencing." Then the teacher addressed the class for the first time as a unit. She said, "I'm not going to see you on Thursday, but on Friday I promised you some reading material. Some people have asked me for materials on volleyball. Diane asked me for something on animals. Somebody else asked me for something on mysteries. Is there anything else that any of you would want?" Cindy said to her, "Are we going to have a free period on Friday?" Miss Hiebert said, "We're going to have library materials."

Then the bell rang and I left the class with Cindy, and walked with her to her Chinese class. Dr. Tso was standing in front of the class at his desk. We shook hands. This is not a bilingual class, but a foreign

language class.

In this class, the females sat on the left side of the room and the males on the right. I have never seen this in any other classroom in Sheridan. Later, I asked Dr. Tso about this fact. He told me that the Chinese students do this by themselves when they have an entire classroom to themselves. They are not told to do so by the teachers at Sheridan, but they are continuing the custom of the Hong Kong school system which many of them have been in before emigrating to the United States.

I took a seat just behind Cindy, who sat in the last seat in the first row. When the bell rang, Dr. Tso began to speak to the class in English. He introduced me briefly and welcomed me to the class.

Next, Dr. Tso asked one male student to move to another seat, which the student did. The teacher spoke for a moment and then several hands were raised. Dr. Tso engaged in a conversation with one male student for a few minutes and then did the same thing with another male student. The conversations were occasionally punctuated with laughter from the class. Then the conversation began to extend until about ten people were involved, including Cindy. I noticed that Dr. Tso addressed Cindy by the name "Cindy" even though she told me the other day that she also has a Chinese name, "Yap Ling."

Dr. Tso then went to the board and began writing in Chinese characters. He wrote horizontally rather than vertically. I had noticed Cindy doing that the other day and had asked her about it, telling her that I had always thought that Chinese was written vertically. She had told me "You can do it either way."

After about 20 minutes had passed, Dr. Tso addressed me in English and asked me if I knew what Taoism is. I said that it had been a long time since I had studied it. He started explaining Taoism to me, saying that Taoism is one of the religious philosophies in China. Then he started talking to the class. From this point on, he spoke to the class mostly in English and wrote down some of their statements on the board in Chinese. Orally, he went back and forth from English to Chinese. He talked about Taoists and said that they are against knowledge. He said that many westerners are fascinated by Taoists. He gave an example of the hippie culture in the United States. Then there was some talking in Chinese again and some laughter. Then Dr. Tso said, "Well, let's compare Taoists and hippies." I have recorded this conversation as best I could, but I will, naturally, give just the English part. At least half of this discussion, however, was in Chinese. Dr. Tso wrote on the board "hippies" and across from that "Taoists" and then he drew a line and made a big box with four compartments. On the left was hippies, on the right was Taoists; on the top were "similarities" and on the bottom were "differences. The similarities that emerged were that both hippies and Taoists don't care about their looks, wear their hair long, don't like to work, and use drugs. Dr. Tso was saying these things alternately in Chinese and in English, but he was still writing on the board in Chinese.

Cindy turned around to me at one point during this conversation, and looked at my notes. She could see that I had a column for hippies and a column for Taoists. I was writing down the similarities and differences. When she saw that I knew what was going on in the conversation, she said to me, "Do you understand Chinese?" I said, "No." She said, "How do you know what we're talking about?" I said, "He said a lot of those things in English."

Then she said, "Oh, yeah, that's right." I would like to note here that I used to teach in a Spanish/English bilingual program and I used to notice an unconscious shifting from one language to another. Quite often I would hear students start a sentence in Spanish and end it in English or vice-versa. I don't think there was even an awareness that they were switching from one language to another.

Next, Cindy started speaking to the class. She first said something in Chinese. Then she said in English that hippies are loud and Taoists are quiet. Dr. Tso wrote this under "differences" Cindy started talking to Dr. Tso at this point in Chinese. Then Dr. Tso said in English, "You know, we Chinese people say that on the outside we are Confucians. On the inside we are Taoists. In me, there is a little Taoist inside but on the outside I am Confucius. This is the same for all Chinese people."

At this point, Cindy and Annie began talking to each other in Chinese. They were talking in rather loud voices. I believe there were one or two other conversations going on while Dr. Tso was talking, but it was all in Chinese. The teacher did not say anything to any of these people and they continued talking. A few seconds later the bell rang but nobody in the class got up to leave until Dr. Tso had finished speaking.

After Cindy left Dr. Tso's class, she was supposed to have swimming. The swimming teacher was absent, however, and she was supposed to report to the dance classroom. She said that she didn't like the teacher who was substituting for the swimming teacher. I asked her, "Where are we going?" She said, "We're going to the cafeteria. We're going to meet Annie there."

I had to make a phone call, and I asked Cindy where the nearest telephone was. She told me, and I said, "Listen, if I make a phone call, will you still be here?" She said, "Yeah, I'll be here this period and I'll be here next period. Next period is my lunch period." So I said, "All right. I'll be back in just a couple of minutes."

I was delayed making the phone call. When I got back to the cafeteria, the period was almost over. I had to speak to Mr. Dawkins, the teacher who was supervising entrance to and exit from the cafeteria. When I explained what I was doing, he let me in and I went over to where Cindy and Annie were sitting in the front part of the cafeteria. Most of the students in this part of the cafeteria were Chinese. I sat down facing the main door to the cafeteria. For the last few minutes, we watched Mr. Dawkins negotiating with students trying to get in and students trying to get out of the cafeteria before the period change. Each one had a different tactic, but Mr. Dawkins seemed to understand most dodges and didn't let anyone in or out. No one tried to jump over or under the tables across the entrance, either, as they often do when only the school aides are there.

Finally, the bell rang and Mr. Dawkins pushed aside the tables for the masses to flow in and out. From then on, people had to show their program cards to get in.

Just before the bell rang, Angela, the Spanish female in Cindy's classes, came upstairs into the cafeteria. I thought she was going to sit down with us, but I later noticed that she was sitting at a table in back of us with two other Spanish females.

A Chinese male came over and started talking to Cindy and Annie. He spoke to them entirely in Chinese and they were speaking to each other and

to him in English. They were talking about skating in the park. Cindy said that she didn't want to go skating in the park, as she had had trouble with someone. When this male left, I asked her "Where do you go skating?" She said, "We go skating in Central Park." I asked, "Why aren't you going to go today?" She said, "I had trouble with one of these kids." I said, "What happened?" She said, "This girl is a member of the Black Eagles." I said, "What's that, some kind of gang in the school here?" She said, "No, that's a gang from Chinatown." She told me that she was going with some boy and she broke up with him. Then this guy's new girlfriend got jealous of her and she was involved with the Black Eagles. Now she gives Cindy a rough time whenever she comes across her. I asked Cindy if this girl was in school and she said, "No, she's not in school. She's a dropout." Then she said that this girl had been pregnant and had gotten an abortion. She then named several gangs to me and said that they were all Chinese gangs from Chinatown. I asked, "Are there any gang members in school?" She said, "Not many. Some of the seniors are in gangs." She said that juniors aren't really in the gangs yet, because they're too young.

Angela left the cafeteria at one point during the lunch period. I noticed that she went over to Mr. Dawkins and she gave him her program card. In return, he gave her a plastic-covered pass. I asked Cindy what this whole procedure was because I knew that she had been in the cafeteria for two periods even though she was supposed to be in her gym class for the first of these periods. She said, "If you get here before the bell, nobody looks at your program card. You just come right in the door and sit down. Then you just wait for the bell to ring and you can go out." I asked, "Can you leave

at all?" She said, "If you have lunch, you can leave. But if you don't have lunch, you can't leave. If I wanted to leave sixth period when I'm supposed to have swimming, if I went up there and showed them my program card, they wouldn't give me a pass, because I'm not supposed to be here, so I would have to stay here. But now, 7th period, I have lunch, so I can go up there if I want to go to the bathroom, and I can give them my program card and they will give me a pass so I can go out."

The bell rang shortly after this and I went downstairs with Cindy to her last class of the day, Biology. The teacher's name was Mr. Gobel. I did not record the exact ethnic and sex breakdown of this class, but it was quite mixed. Cindy sat on the left side of the front row. She spoke up very little in this class.

The teacher spent the first few minutes of the class fiddling with his Delaney cards. Then he went to the board and wrote out the page numbers of the next day's homework. After that, he turned to the class and announced that today's lesson concerned semi-permeable membranes. He had two ring stands on his desk set up for a demonstration experiment. The experiment lasted several minutes, after which the teacher began asking where people have semi-permeable membranes in their bodies. Someone answered, "Blood vessels." He said that that was correct and began diagramming a blood vessel on the board.

While this was going on, several students came into class late. First a black male came in and then a moment later came a Chinese male. When this happened a third time, the teacher stopped and began reprimanding the late-comers. He said, "You know, if you are late five times, you get an Unsatisfactory rating on your report card."

He went back to the lesson and the class participated actively. The teacher kept going around the room asking questions about cell structure and process. Next, he rearranged the lab equipment on his desk and did another experiment with iodine and starch.

Toward the end of the period, he gave back a test and went over the answers. I saw several of the grades and they were all above eighty. I did not see Cindy's, however. At the end of the class, I thanked Cindy for letting me follow her and left school for the day.

INFORMAL NETWORK OF CINDY NG

Chinese male in cafeteria

Annie Moy

CINDY NG

Angela, Spanish female

Former Chinese boyfriend and his
new girlfriend

Analysis

Cindy Ng is a recent immigrant to the United States from Hong Kong. She is bilingual, lower-class and a resident of Chinatown. Both of her parents work long hours at low-paying factory jobs.

Her closest friend is Annie Moy, who is also bilingual, lower-class, and a Chinatown resident. Cindy has one friend at Sheridan, Angela, a Hispanic female. This friendship, however, is largely confined to the several classes that the two of them share. They do not sit together in the cafeteria or associate after school or on weekends. Thus, Cindy's close personal friendship network is made up mostly of poor Chinese like herself. She has come into conflict with the youth gang structure that is currently causing such turmoil in Chinatown. These gangs have only arisen since the post-1965 fivefold increase in the population of Chinatown. This swelling of population has made it impossible for the traditional governance system of Chinatown, which is itself outside the formal structure of municipal government, to maintain its previous high degree of control and organization.

Despite her language difficulties, Cindy is making excellent progress in her education. She is assigned to reading and language classes and has already placed out of the English as a Second Language curriculum. Besides these reading and language classes, she is assigned to a science class. She has not been assigned to any of the business curriculum in the school. Cindy attends her classes regularly, with the exception of gym, and participates. Her degree of participation in the all-Chinese-language class, however, is much higher than in the classes she shares with non-Chinese students. In these latter classes, she speaks out less frequently. Her Chinese class provides some continuity with the social organization of the Hong Kong schools.

This class is also significantly different from the Hong Kong system, however, in that the Hong Kong system does not sanction much student recitation. Thus, the Chinese class at Sheridan provides both continuity as well as a bridge to the social norms of the American classroom. Continuity with Chinese tradition is also provided by the activities of the school's Chinese Culture Club, whose meetings and activities she attends.

A Day in the Life of Carmen Nieves

I arrived at school today just before the beginning of second period to meet a student named Carmen Nieves. We had arranged that I was to follow her around today. Carmen was born in Puerto Rico but has lived in New York since she was eight years old. We had arranged to meet in the record-keeping office on the first floor where she works during the second period. I got there a few minutes before she arrived. When she came in, she smiled and said, "Good morning." Mrs. Stevens, the secretary who gives Carmen work and errands to do had not arrived yet. Carmen works in this office during her study period and receives service credit from the school. She says that she would rather work in the office than go to study because it's more interesting and because she doesn't get any credit for study.

We talked a little about how I would follow her around for the day. I asked Carmen about classes. She had told me last week that, starting today, she is going to make an effort to go to all of her classes because she doesn't want to get into trouble any more. I said, "Are you going to go to all your classes today?" She said, "Yeah, I think so. Maybe I'll cut one, but I think I'll go." I explained to her again that I wanted her to be as natural as possible and I understood that that would be difficult, but would she please try and not do anything that she wouldn't ordinarily do. Then Carmen reminded me that we had agreed that I was not to follow her on her lunch period. She told me that she would go out of the building and would return to meet me for the next period.

As Carmen was talking to me, Margarita came down the hallway. Carmen sort of screamed out, "Hi, how are you?" Margarita was wearing a plaid

jacket with a lamb's-wool lining. So she took off her jacket and gave it to Carmen, who put it on immediately and kept it on the rest of the day. She didn't return it to Margarita until they were ready to leave at 2:00.

Now, as soon as Gloria came in and they switched their coats, they started talking. When we had been standing in the record office for about ten minutes and nobody had come in, Carmen said, "Oh, this is going to be boring today. Then Mark Kelton, a teacher, came into the office. He handed Carmen a piece of paper and said, "I want you take this up to the cafeteria." Carmen took it and we went over to the elevator. Margarita came with us. We went upstairs to the fifth floor and into the cafeteria. Carmen walked into the back part to the dietician's office. She gave the note to someone, explaining to me that that piece of paper had something to do with some lunch passes which had been lost.

Then, instead of going down the elevator, we walked down each floor except the second floor. We walked down the fifth-floor corridor and then down the staircase on the far end of the school, all the way away from the cafeteria, down to the fourth floor, back across the fourth floor to the library, down the stairs, across the third, back to the far end and then skipped the second floor and went back down to the first. As the girls walked along, they looked in a couple of different rooms on each floor and laughed or said something or waved to people. They would look right in the front door in plain view of the whole class and the teachers just looked at them and then looked back at the class. They weren't challenged at all on this particular day. I asked Carmen how she could get away with just walking through the halls all the time. She said, "People get to know you and if anybody asks me what I'm doing, I just say I'm taking something to the

cafeteria for Mr. Kelton or say I'm doing something for the office. I asked, "What if somebody asks to see your program card, can you show it to them? What happens if you don't have a study period or something during that period when you're out in the hall? " She said, "Oh, nothing happens. I never get into any trouble." I asked to see her program card. She said, "Sure, I always have it with me." She reached into her pocket and took the card out. It was so crumpled up that you could barely read anything that was on it. You could see that it said, "Carmen Nieves" and on the back it had the remnants of her program. The only floor that Carmen avoids is the second floor. She says that the black lady there gets after her, referring to one of the security guards on the floor.

As we were strolling around, Carmen and Margarita talked about a student named Carlos. Margarita was teasing Carmen about having a crush on him, but Carmen kept denying any interest and then laughing.

When we got back down the first floor, we stood outside the office again. The conversation turned to parents and religion. Carmen was saying that she was Catholic and Catholics can do anything. Margarita said she was Pentecostal and there were a lot of things that she wasn't allowed to do. She said that there are a few other Pentecostals in school here. She said that her father is a Pentecostal minister and that he's very strict. Then Carmen said, "I wish my father was like that instead of . . . " and then she made a motion of somebody drinking from a bottle. I take it that she was saying that she wished her father were strict instead of drinking so much.

Then a woman came by and stood at the elevator. It turned out that this was Carmen's English teacher, Miss Stanton. Carmen said, "Did you see the dirty look she gave me? She always gives me a dirty look because I don't go to her class all the time"

Next, one of the secretaries who works in the records office came in. As she walked by, she patted Carmen's face and then went into the office. A few minutes later, a secretary from Mrs. Weissman's office came by and touched Carmen on the head. This secretary stopped and thanked Carmen for a Christmas card she had received from her.

The secretary who had just come in called Carmen into the office and asked her if she would go down to Room 129 and get some mimeograph paper. Again, Margarita came with us. When we got to Room 129, at the other end of the first floor, there was no mimeograph paper. The secretary there gave us a note to take downstairs to the basement supply room. When we got there, the stockman made us wait. By the time we got back to the original secretary who needed the paper, the period was over.

We went up the stairs to Room 416 where Carmen has her record-keeping class. I never got the teacher's name in this class. I went in and introduced myself to the teacher and said that I was spending the day with Carmen. Would she mind if I stayed? She turned to me and said, "I don't mind, but I'd just like you to understand that this is an extremely difficult class that we're dealing with. There are all kinds of problems in this class. It's a very difficult class to control and it's a very difficult class to get anything --" (one of the students came up to her and she said, "I'll explain later." I said, "You don't mind then if I stay?" She said, "No, just so long as you understand that." I said "Okay" and sat down in the back.

When the bell rang, the teacher said, "Anybody who did not get his score on the uniform exam can get it after class." The teacher brought everyone's attention to an assignment on the board under the words, "Do now." All of the students opened their books and started working. While they started working, the teacher started putting lines on the board for a chart that she was about to use.

After the bell rang, at three separate points within the first five minutes of the class, three black males came in late. As each one came in wearing a hat, the teacher said, each time, "Would you please take your hat off?" The first student just looked at her and then walked over and sat in his seat. He picked up his coat tails very carefully so as not to wrinkle his coat and then very slowly removed his hat and put it on the desk behind him. The second time, almost exactly the same thing occurred. The second latecomer had taken a seat right next to the first and the teacher asked him to move to the front of the classroom. At first he quietly refused. She asked him to come speak to her. They talked softly for a moment and then he sat down as she had directed. Then when a third student, also a black male, came in late, she asked him, "Why were you late?" He said, "The gym teacher had the wrong schedule. He thought the shortened periods were today instead of tomorrow." The teacher said, "Okay," and didn't challenge him in any way. He sat down.

The teacher then began discussing the "Do Now" assignment. The problem was to compute the net income for three months. Figures for gross income and expenses for three months were given. The students were supposed to perform the calculation and then prove their answer. The teacher called on

a black male student by the name of Benjamin to write the correct answers on the board. Benjamin did so. The teacher asked the class if they agreed with his answers, which most of them did. Then the teacher asked Benjamin to explain what he had done. After he explained, the teacher took issue with him because he had performed his calculations differently than he had been instructed. His method also worked, however: he had the correct answer but by the wrong method.

The teacher said, "I don't want to go over this. We've done this a lot of times. I want to go back over and review the cash receipts journal." Under the "Do Now" on the board was written, "Class work, Page 540, problem 4, cash receipts journal." She said, "I want you to do problem four and then we'll put it up on the board." She handed out pieces of lined accounting paper that the students were to use for this exercise, which they worked on for about 10 or 15 minutes before she stopped the class to go over the problem. While they were working, she wrote on the board the "Aim: review cash receipts journal."

She asked, "Why can't you just put the total amount that he received for the day?" as the opening question of the cash receipts journal review. One student said, "You can't do that because he might want to know if he makes more money off painting or wallpapering." The teacher said, "Right. That's very good. That's why you use these two different columns and then you put in how much he gets for wallpapering and how much he gets for painting and then you put in the total for the day and then if any bank deposits are made, you put in bank deposits. She went over the whole problem, calling on different students and asking them how they would make various entries. Once she called on Carmen, who laughed, put her head down on her desk and wouldn't answer.

At the end of the period, the teacher said, "Now finish it up for homework." A couple of other things happened during the lesson. She asked if anybody had done problem number 3. She said, "I told you that if you do problem number 3, you'll get extra credit. Who did it?" No one raised a hand. She also at one point asked a student to open a window. One of the black males in the class said, "Don't open a window back here." A student opened a window in the front of the room. A few minutes later, the teacher said, "Oh, it's so hot in here," and she walked over and opened one of the windows in the back. The black male student who, a few minutes earlier, had said, "Don't open a window back here," got up, picked up his coat, walked over to the other side of the room and sat down.

After this class came Carmen's lunch period, for which we had agreed I was not to follow her. She left the building and I went up to the teachers' cafeteria for lunch. I was just as relieved to eat in the teachers' cafeteria today rather than in the student cafeteria because the food is so much better here. I do not know if Carmen had a special purpose for wanting her lunch period to herself, although I suspect that perhaps she was going to meet the male student, Carlos, about whom Margarita had been teasing her. Whatever she did, she came in promptly at the beginning of the fifth period. I met her at the door and we walked up to the fourth floor for her next class, Distributive Education. I knew the teacher in this class rather well. His name is Bill Lowry and he is currently the chapter chairman of the teachers' union, several of whose meetings I have attended. We arrived before the teacher, and Carmen took a seat towards the back of the class. I sat beside her.

One observation that I must include is that this teacher had a voice that to me was personally very annoying: it was so loud and so raspy that, at the end of the period, my head was actually throbbing and I couldn't wait to get out of that classroom. Carmen had told me that she usually cuts that class anyway.

When Bill Lowry arrived, the first thing he started talking about was a distributive education contest that was coming up. He wanted to get someone from Sheridan involved in this contest. He explained the contest. There are three parts to it: a sales competition, an interview competition, and a poster competition. He was primarily interested in the interview contest. In this contest, students act as though they're being interviewed for jobs. Whoever does the best interview wins the prize. The students asked what the prize would be and whether or not anybody from Sheridan had ever been in the contest. Bill said, "Last year we had 9 from Sheridan who went to the state-wide competition. But I'll come back to that." He talked a little about the poster competition. The theme of the poster competition is, "Shoplifting is a crime." "Whoever can draw the best poster about this theme will win a prize," he said. He then turned to the subject of the job interview, saying, "I want to go over that."

He went to the board and he wrote: "Aim: job interview." Then he came back and sat on his desk. He began talking about job interviews, and stressed three points: neatness of appearance, verbal expression, and the necessity to ask questions of the interviewer in order to demonstrate interest in the job. He discussed these points with the class for a few minutes. With regard to appearance, he told a story of a female student the previous year who had showed up with too much makeup. An Hispanic male student named

Roberto observed, "You can't go in looking like a pimp." The teacher agreed and repeated his statement. With regard to asking questions, the teacher asked for suggestions as to what kinds of questions one should ask in an interview. Roberto spoke again and suggested inquiries about fringe benefits. Another Hispanic male student suggested that one should ask about salaries. The teacher replied, "Good, good, that's very good." A black male student named Thomas said that he did not see any need to ask questions. The teacher and several of the students criticized him. After that, he looked down at his desk and did not say anything else for the rest of the period.

The teacher said, "What I want to do now is some role-playing. I'm going to pretend that I'm interviewing you for a job and I want to see what you can do." He then asked if anyone in the class had ever done any selling. There were two Hispanic males sitting near me in the back of the room. When the teacher asked about selling, one of them nudged his friend and said, "Hey, that's you." The other one shoved back and told him to be quiet. Then both of them laughed in a sarcastic way as if they had a joke on the teacher. I don't know but I imagine they were talking about selling marijuana. While I was watching this interaction, Roberto, the student who had answered the teacher's questions before, had volunteered to role-play. He said that he had experience working in a liquor store.

Roberto went outside and then came back in and sat in front of the teacher's desk as if it were an interview office. Roberto went through the interview and spoke very well. What really impressed me, however, was the smooth, businesslike manner of the teacher. He really is a salesman himself, by the way. He sells jewelry to the other teachers in his spare time.

After the interview, the teacher asked the class to criticize Roberto's performance, starting with positive criticisms. He began the critique himself, pointing out that the interview had started out with a little small talk. He told the class that that was the best way to begin. The other students started right out with negative criticisms, saying that Roberto seemed nervous.

Next, the teacher asked if anyone else was interested in the contest. An Hispanic female named Nora volunteered, and the above scene was repeated. Before Nora went out, Mr. Lowry told her that she must not cross her legs. Nora and the class asked, "Why not?" and Mr. Lowry said, "It's just better not to cross your legs in an interview, that's all." When she came in, however, the first thing she did was to cross her legs. She quickly uncrossed them and then was nervous for the rest of the interview.

After Nora sat down, Mr. Lowry said, "you know, the more you do this, the more comfortable you'll be with it. Then the bell rang. All the students stood up and got ready to go. Mr. Lowry said, "Hold it a second. I want everybody to sit down." Some of the students stood in their seats. The teacher said again, "Sit down," very emphatically. Then he gave a homework assignment and said, "All right; I'll see you tomorrow." Then everyone left the room.

Carmen's next class was English; the teacher, Miss Colgate, was the one whom Carmen had pointed out earlier at the elevator as giving her a "dirty look." When I asked Miss Colgate if I could sit in on the class, she said, "I hope you realize that this is a modified . . . , a 500 class; do you know what that means?" I said that I did and she told me that 500 classes have many problems and that I should come to her second-period

Regents class. I told her that I would another day and she said that I could sit in on this class. She explained to me that because of the many problems with this class, she tried to individualize as much as she could.

When the class began, she handed out a bunch of magazines and told the students that they were to read the story, "Brian's Song." Two or three black female students began to protest, saying that they had read this story before. The teacher disagreed and said, "Maybe the substitute who was here gave you this, but it won't hurt you to work on this again." Carmen asked for a pass at this point. She had left her books downstairs in her locker. She received the pass and came back a few minutes later with her books. The class sat quietly for the most part during this period reading and sometimes talking softly. At the end of the class, I thanked the teacher and we left.

Carmen's next class was her gym period, for which she has swimming. However, she had a pass to go see her program advisor and arrange her schedule for the next term. She went to the gym teacher on the second floor, gave her the pass, and we went to the first floor to the guidance office where the counselors and program advisors work in partitioned cubicles. We went into the outer part of the office and sat down. At first there were about ten people there, including four women who looked to be in their forties. They soon left, and only Carmen and I and two students were left. One of the other students was a Spanish male who was a friend of Carmen's. They talked for awhile, half in Spanish; this was the most Spanish I have heard Carmen speak, for she usually speaks English. Just before Carmen's turn came, a friend of hers, a Spanish female named Niko, came out of another advisor's cubicle. She had tears on her face. Carmen

asked her, "Did you get left back?" She nodded yes and started to cry some more. Finally Carmen's program advisor, Mr. Hoffman, came out of his cubicle and told her to come in. I explained to him what I was doing. He is also a union official and knows me from union meetings. He agreed to let me sit in.

Before we went into the office, Carmen asked me if I would tell Mr. Hoffman about her cutting. I said, "I told you before that anything you say or do is between you and me, and I'm not going to tell anybody. I'll respect your confidence." When we were in the office, Mr. Hoffman said to her, "How about cutting? Have you been cutting much this term?" She looked at me and I had no expression on my face at all. I didn't smile or anything. She said, "No, uh uh." Then she looked back at me and I still had no expression at all on my face. Mr. Hoffman asked, "You haven't cut at all?" She shrugged her shoulders and said, "Maybe once or twice, a couple of times." He said, "If you cut even once, you know that's too much. You miss work and it's very important." She shrugged her shoulders again and he said, "No cutting," and it was let go at that.

They were trying to decide on what courses she should take next year. Mr. Hoffman said, "How do you like nursing?" She said, "Oh, it's okay." He asked, "Would you like to take nursing again?" Carmen cocked her head to the left and shrugged. Mr. Hoffman said, "Okay, we'll put down nursing." Then he said, "Let's see, you've never had music. Do you like music?" She gestured the same way and said, "Yeah." He said, "Music is pretty easy. All you have to do is listen. Anybody can listen. All you have to do is listen and you pass music. How would you like music?" "Uh, Okay," she answered, so she got music. In reference to nursing, she had told me earlier

that she hated nursing and didn't want to take it any more, but when he asked her she just hunched her shoulders and said "Yeah."

Her interview lasted about five minutes. She got her schedule and it was put on a piece of paper. Now her parents have to sign it and then she brings it back to school and her classes are assigned. The only problem is that she has been cutting and may very well not pass several of her courses, in which case she will have to go through this procedure all over again.

Carmen's last period class is nursing. I did not take many notes in this class because the teacher was giving a test. It was very hot in the room and I fell asleep for part of the period myself. After that I went with Carmen to her official class, after which we both left school.

Follow-up note: I saw Carmen about a week later and asked her if she had been going to all her classes. She said that she had been cutting again. Therefore, I think that the day on which I followed her was rather atypical because she went to all her classes for my benefit. When I asked her these questions the following week, as a matter of fact, she was actually working in the records office during a period when she should have been in English class.

Analysis

Carmen Nieves is a lower class, bilingual Puerto Rican student who lives in the area just north of the school. Her personal friendship network is primarily composed of other students who were either born in Puerto Rico or whose parents were. Carmen is English-language-dominant at this point, although her friends are both English and Spanish dominant. Most of her female friends are people with whom she can associate in the neighborhood as well as at school. Her father is quite strict about dating, however. Consequently, Carmen socializes a great deal in school.

She is a chronic class cutter. When she cuts classes, however, she does not hang out outside the way that male students do when they cut. She has established a set of relationships with the teachers and secretaries who work in the offices on the first floor. Since she often works there, no one questions where she should be. She manipulates this position to wander around the hallways while ostensibly doing errands. Her relations with her classroom teachers are as hostile as her relations with the office workers are warm. The manner in which two of her teachers presented themselves and her classes to our observers, e.g., apologizing for the classes, is altogether typical of our observer's experience in visiting these kinds of classes. Carmen's program consists of courses in the business curriculum and modified (500 level) classes which are designated for "slow learners." Her experience with her program advisor is also rather typical, at least in its brevity. The school must program several thousand students each term and must strain its personnel resources merely to accomplish this task.

Mrs. Stevens
Secretary from Mrs. Weissman's office
Office Personnel

STUDENTS

Friends

Margarita

Gloria

Carlos

Niko

Participant:

Roberto

Classmate:

Nora

CARMEN NIEVES

Mr. Hoffman -
Counselor

Mark Kelton
Miss Stanton
Bill Lowry
Miss Colgate
Teachers -

A Day in the Life of Josie

Josie is a sixteen-year-old Latino Female. Born in the Dominican Republic, she emigrated to the United States at seven years of age. She is petite, attractive and quiet but nonetheless alert and people-oriented.

I first encountered Josie in Mr. Smith's world history class. She was sitting towards the rear of the class with a group of talkative Latino females: Letty and Evelyn, both Puerto Rican females, and Dennis, a Puerto Rican male. As a part of this group, Josie seemed to keep separate from the rest of the class. Though I at first assumed Josie to be a major contributor to the English-Spanish group chatter, this was not the case.

Mr. Smith had indicated that I might sit anywhere in the classroom so I chose a window seat. It was not until several days later, when a reshuffling of seats occurred, moving Josie to the seat in front of me, that she became the focus of my study in the classroom. My physical proximity to her and the underground learning network of which she was so vital a part made her a rich field research source.

Josie begins her day early. She is the youngest of ten children, none of whom live at home, although several married siblings live in the same apartment building or nearby. Up before 7:30 a.m., she dresses, applies makeup (usually eyeliner) and eats breakfast in time to meet a girlfriend or two and walk to school by eight-thirty. The girlfriend is usually Dominican. Arriving at school a few minutes early, she smokes a cigarette. The buzzer rings and she enters the school building and proceeds to the girls' gymnasium. She changes clothes and participates in the gym activities though she is not highly motivated. Gym period over, she goes to her official room.

Josie's official room is bustling with activity as she enters. Josie's voice soon joins the din as she greets Marta and Luis, two of her close friends and cohorts. The buzzer rings, things calm down a bit, and the official teacher begins to take roll. A dispute arises as Josie finds she was marked present for Monday when she was in reality absent. This will result in her teachers' listing her as having cut class. (Cutting can be a more serious offense than complete absence.) The situation is aggravated by the news that her friend Hilda was absent Tuesday but marked present. Both girls are incensed. Josie goes to the teacher's desk, speaks with the teacher and returns to her desk still more angry. She tells her friends in Spanish and English, loudly enough for the teacher to hear, that "he doesn't know what he is doing," and goes on to make several derogatory comments about him as a person.

Between the end of the official class and her reading skills class, Josie calms down enough to join Marta and Luis in the hall. En route, she is eyed by a group of male students lounging outside their Spanish class. These male students occasionally call out to attractive female students. They sometimes greet Josie with a "Ssssstt!" Josie ignores them and says she finds their comments annoying.

Upon arriving in reading class, Josie goes to her locker and takes out her reading folder. She also carefully places her leather jacket in her locker. After momentarily chatting with the teacher, Mrs. Ellers and Marta, Josie takes her seat and begins her classwork. She works on a reading assignment at her own pace, occasionally exchanging a quiet word with one of her classmates. There are eight students, total, in the class:

six Latino, two black. Just before the buzzer sounds, marking the end of class, Josie goes to her classroom locker, replaces her folder, and lovingly unfolds the prize leather jacket she will take deliberate effort putting on. Others in the class pause, eye her and begin to pack up to go.

Once the buzzer sounds, Josie heads for a hallway adjacent to the girls' gym where she and her lunchtime friends rendezvous. She finds herself a niche on a stairway there and sits quietly, watching, thinking, waiting. Several minutes later Hilda arrives, followed by three other female Latino friends who greet Josie half in English, half in Spanish. The group assembles and descends the stairs to exit the building in twelve-degree (F) weather.

Laughing and talking in English more than Spanish, the group proceeds down the block to the corner. They all turn left and walk past the doorways of shops and three- to five-storey tenement buildings, of pre-World War II or origin, the stoops and entrances of which give shelter to huddled groups of primarily male students. It should also be noted that the crowds of students huddled in doorways are either all-black, all Latino, all-Chinese, or all-White. The only mixing that ever seems to occur is between blacks and Latinos.

Josie and company pass the clumps of students quickly, never looking up but nonetheless conscious of the group identity, individuals who compose the group and, of course, any movement from these doorway communities. Reaching another corner, the group of girls are "Ssstt"-ed by a group of five Latino males from a door recess. The girls react with disgust and irritation. Josie later confides to me that she "hates that." On another

occasion, I learned from a Dominican male that one of the reasons females do not like to be hailed by Puerto Ricans is that their choice of words is considered derogatory and coarse.

A little later, the company converges on Blimpies, a fast food establishment with tables, a juke box with mostly Latin songs, and an Argentine proprietor. This is the lunchtime haven for Latinos and blacks. The crowd here will be quieter than at other congregating places, with the possible exception being the dairy bar several blocks away where mostly Chinese students will be ordering from the non-meat menu.

Josie has a coffee and doughnut for lunch. She speaks English for my benefit, reiterating the morning's events. Josie excuses herself to make a phone call, to whom she doesn't say. Meanwhile her friend Marta confides in me, saying she can't understand why she scored so poorly on a reading test. Marta is in Reading Skills with Josie; she is in 10th grade but is not as bilingual as Josie. Marta wonders aloud why she failed this time, as opposed to last, to achieve the 8.5 year reading mark. The explanation she was given in class, I observed, was less than complete. Aware only of the negative implication of the test, Marta seeks reassurance that her deficiencies can somehow be overcome.

When Josie returns to the table, the group leaves Blimpies, and retraces its steps to school. At the sound of the buzzer, Josie heads for her world history class, sometimes via her locker. As Josie in the context of her world history course has already been discussed, that class will not be treated here.

After world history, Josie goes to her third-semester French class. Josie expresses mixed feelings about this class. She elected it because

she was slated to take a language and thought French would be interesting. Besides, "Spanish I already knew," she said. Her unhappiness with the class is due to the fact that she feels socially isolated. In French class, she found herself without most of her friends and even seated apart from the four other Hispanics in the class. She keeps up with the homework for the class and appears to follow the lesson's progress in class, but participates sporadically, in a pattern different from most of the classes she enjoys.

After French, Josie has math class. This is the class Josie cuts most frequently. Math is the only class she fails at the end of the semester.

The math class is large (forty-two students). Josie is obviously disinterested in what goes on there. Even though she is in the company of Carmen, Evelyn, and another Josie, she appears to be in a state of discomfort in this class. Mr. Katz, a young Jewish teacher wearing a yarmulke, puts problems on the board, emphasizing points with the tip of his chalk. Josie remains unimpressed. Soon Mr. Katz, using his body position, edges Josie and her friends out of the mainstream of conversation and addresses himself to a group of Chinese students. He does not address the group of blacks sitting quietly in the back of the room. Of Josie's group, Evelyn alone meticulously copies the work. Grade-wise, Evelyn and Carmen are both doing well. Both Josies appear to have given up trying to do well.

Math class ends. Josie has spent about five minutes of the period with her head down on her desk, engaged in nine short conversations with her friends, and has taken half a page of notes. Now off she goes to English class, one of her favorites.

At first it seems curious that English should be one of Josie's favorite classes but it soon becomes obvious why. Josie has many friends in this class, her best male friend, Luis, in particular. Also this is the class in which Josie shines as compared to her Latino friends who do not have the depth of her grasp of English. Too, literature, seems to be an escape for Josie from the world she perceives as mundane.

English class is overcrowded and noisy. Several students share the same desks and some share books. Josie shares a desk and "The Miracle Worker" with Luis. She chatters away during most of the class and manages to scratch out a mocking pictogram of the teacher. Josie, nonetheless, is very interested in the class and volunteers to read twice. Each time she is denied. There appears to be an old enmity between Josie and her teacher.

Josie's drawing is circulated and elicits laughter from the black and Hispanic students who inhabit the middle and back of the room. Fourteen Chinese students sit towards the front near the blackboard and are frequently called on by the teacher to read aloud the "good" parts of the play. The buzzer at the end of the class signals the end of Josie's school day. She leaves the building and lingers right outside to smoke a cigarette and socialize before going to a girlfriend's home.

Summary of "Josie"

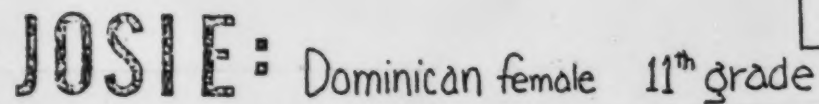
Josie lives in a segregated high school. her associates are for the most part Hispanic, usually Dominican. She is perhaps typical at the school in her adherence to the strict territorial rules for students -- even the Blimpies where she eats lunch is "closed" for whites and Chinese.

This "closed" characteristic of her schooling life is all the more essential to an understanding of what it is like to be a student at Sheridan High, where much of life is influenced by ethnicity and ethnic perception.

Another factor of life in the school is the high priority of the social context of education. Josie goes to classes in part motivated by desires for economic mobility, good grades, and social favor; but she also goes to class because her friends are there.

"Josie": Linkages

	Linkage	Participants	Setting
I	Official class	Mr. Berlin Marta Wanda Isabelle	503
II	Classes with friends	Marta	Reading Skills
		Evelyn Letty Dennis	World History
		Luis	English
III	Eating	Hilda, Marta	Blimpies
IV	Classes without friends		Gym Math French
V	Out of school peers	Dominican Social Club Ramona Joana Tony Sorro	Club meetings Parties
VI	Family	Victor (1st cousin) Sisters Mother, Father Nephews	Apt. #20 Sister's Apt.



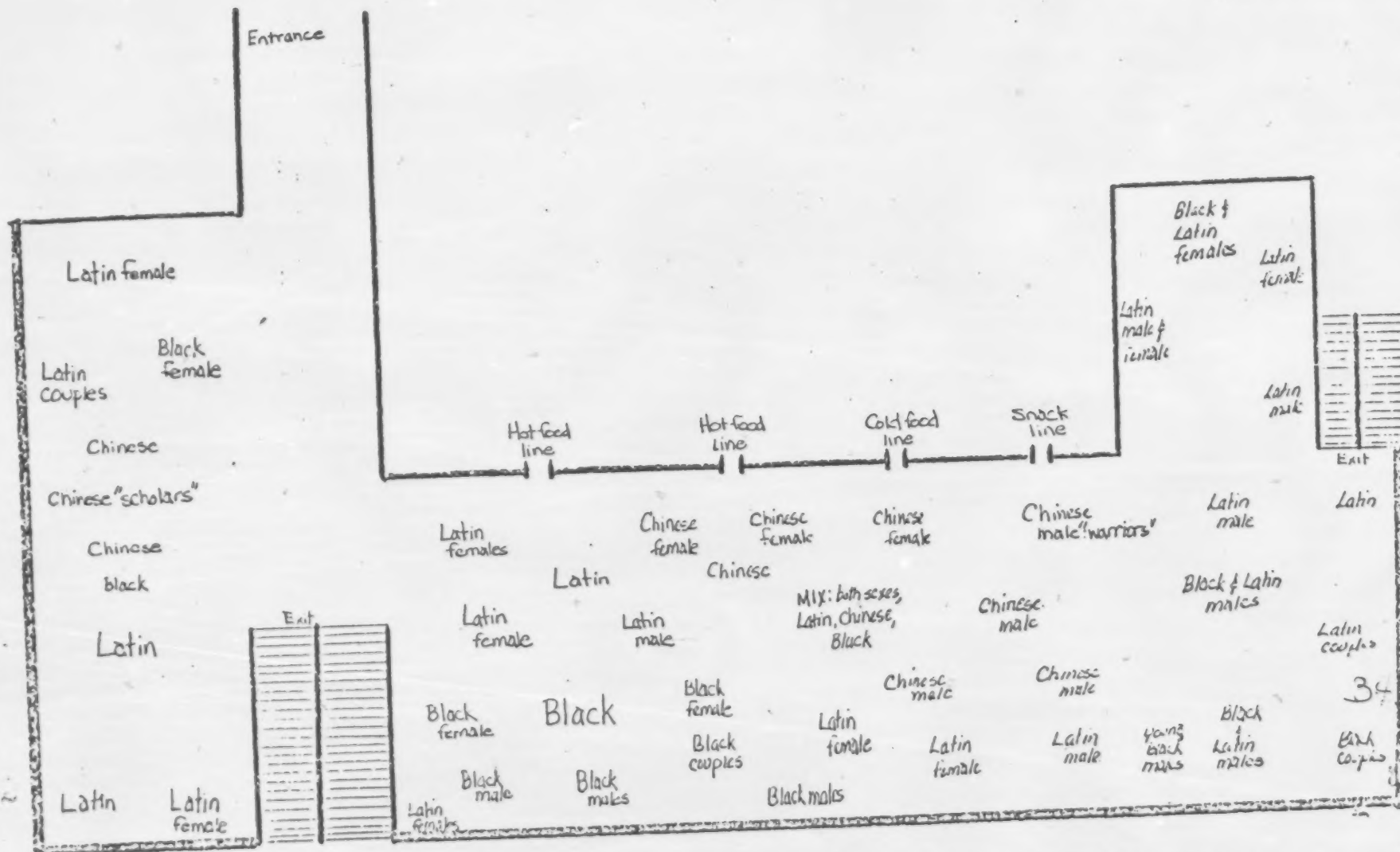
Ethnicity Key

- * Dominican
- o Puerto Rican
- Δ Black: Afro-American
- + Barbadian: West Indian
- ◇ Costa Rican

- _____ primary association
- ↔ primary association with high frequency
- _____ (boyfriend) primary association with special relationship
- ===== association maintained by bureaucratic structure

TURF ETHNICITY: Period 4 Student Cafeteria

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INFORMAL SOCIAL NETWORKS AND TERRITORIAL BOUNDARIES

Fieldwork at Sheridan has also been conducted in the area outside of and around the school building. The underlying assumption for this research is that transactions among students which occur outside the school have considerable impact upon the teaching/learning processes within the school. While social scientists have been somewhat attentive to what takes place among adolescents within school boundaries (Barker & Gump, 1964; Coleman, 1965; Cusick, 1973; Jackson, 1968; Leacock, 1969), there have been few systematic studies of (1) the interactive processes outside the school and (2) the social structures of informal, student-defined settings. The periphery of the high school provides an excellent field in which to examine these issues.

Being outside the school presents special problems to the fieldworker. There have been numerous instances in which I have been asked and on occasion challenged to explain why we are "hanging outside" with no apparent reason or purpose. The property itself, of course, is public and subject to no one's particular domain; so there is no problem or question of rights to territory. Students do seem to have cause for suspicion, however, because (1) very few persons of any character would choose to spend their leisure time in such a setting, (2) they themselves can often be seen or reported to be engaged in illicit activities and (3) our identity could be reasonably expected to represent some authority or power.

In trying to establish viability in the field, I was consequently confronted with three problematical questions to which I had no contrived pre-packaged answers. The questions asked by students were

concerned with (1) Why are you here? (2) What assurances can you give that you will protect or at least not harm our interests? and (3) Whose interests do you serve? My response to such questions has been? "I am a college student interested in writing a paper about what's happening outside this school for a college assignment. No one seems to know much about this subject because very little attention is paid to it. I would like to find out what really goes on out here. I get paid for doing this as well. I write reports but am careful to conceal who you are in these reports." Such an answer seems to satisfy and be accepted by persons outside the school.

Maintaining viability in such a field situation has posed several additional problems. Like anyone else, students have a tendency to attach a role identity to someone as they interact with and observe that person's behavior. Among the roles they have suggested are narcotics agent ("narco"), dope dealer ("pusher"), youth counselor ("streetworker"), marijuana user ("pothead"), and woman-lover* ("pimp"), as well as "high school student." These identifications are no doubt in some part related to my personal style and appearance; they also reflect the identifiable categories in which a fieldworker in such a setting might be cast. Incidents have occurred with differing degrees of regularity which present opportunities for them to consider us in or assign me to one or more of these roles.

*All fieldworkers on the outside have been males.

For example, students have been arrested for possession of marijuana. They have also asked such things as whether I was selling marijuana that they could buy, where they could find jobs or about the merits of scholastic and vocational programs they are considering, whether I would like to smoke marijuana with them, whether I would like to date females I meet and whether I would like to accompany them inside the school. All of the above "whether" questions can be answered negatively in good faith and with no damaging effects on my fieldwork relationships; my most useful advantage is consistency of response and of rationale. The drug arrests were isolated and occurred during the fourth month in the field, by which time I had the established credibility and good fortune to be viewed as disconnected from the arrests. Conversations about jobs and schooling are in fact one topic of my own interests and are sometimes discussed at length and in detail; another aspect of youth counseling, family and peer relationships, has also been a frequent conversational topic during the course of fieldwork. The "streetworker" role most closely corresponds to my behavioral and purposeful activity outside the school.

This research has been concerned with three different and related problem dimensions. An initial area of concern is how a person's perception of and behavior in informal groups relate to ascribed statuses such as grade level and ethnicity; central to this question is an examination of social boundaries among informal groups. A second area of investigation is directed at the basis for the uses and allocations of space by individuals and groups of students outside the school; who uses what

physical areas with what purpose and effect is most significant here. My third concern is with the motivation and meaning which adolescents attach to their own behavior (Mills in Manis and Meltzer, 1972), i.e., how to account for and explain the emergence of an informal social organization and social structure among youth outside the high school. Findings for this latter area are not discussed below, as the data are yet too sketchy to be presented without the risk of making grossly inaccurate and misleading statements.

Social Boundaries

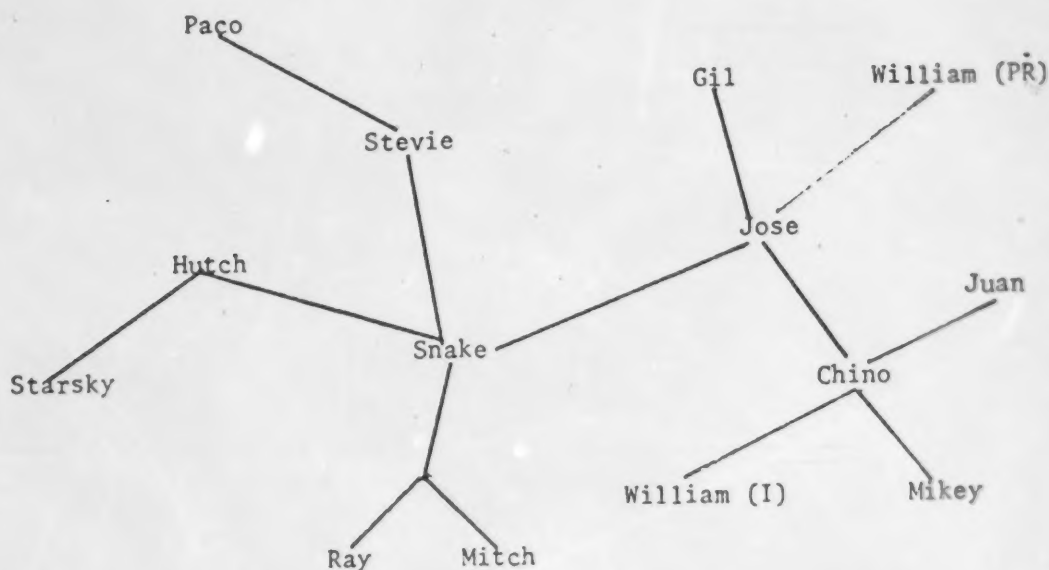
During the first full week of fieldwork, a student stated that he belonged to a social athletic club on the Lower East Side whose membership consisted of Hispanic males attending Sheridan. Since that time we have observed him get together with a number of other persons at least twelve occasions outside the school. In every instance they were making preparations to participate in fights with other male youths. This group has not only been observed as a unit in settings outside Sheridan but also frequently sat together in the cafeteria during the first half of the year.

On one occasion seven members of this group were seen walking in the direction of a nearby junior high school in order to offer a "back" or protective support for a Latino acquaintance who was supposed to be fighting there. The latter youth was not previously considered to be a part of this body; however, he had himself requested assistance several days before from them for his anticipated dual with an unidentified

youth who attends this junior high school. This incident is reported since it marks the only instance of which we are aware involving activity by this group outside the immediate periphery of Sheridan.

The group appears to have a loosely defined hierarchical structure. Numerous participants have identified a youth named Snake as their leader. No one has referred to a second-in-command. These youths are classified as members of an action-set, using network analysis (Boissevain, 1974). Our observations indicate that several cliques form the elements of an organizational structure. The cliques are tied to Snake through a key individual. The informant who mentioned that meetings take place also stated that an initiation ritual as well as a 33-year-old leader exist for this action-set. While we have some corroborating information on these points, more is needed to establish their validity. If true, we might refer to this configuration as a gang.

The network structure for this action-set is sketched below:



All of the youths are male. Mitch and Ray are fraternal twins. All of them except William (I) speak Spanish. Everyone is of Puerto Rican descent except for him and Chino, and everyone was born in the U.S.A. William (I) is of Italian descent; Chino's mother is from Hawaii and father from Canton, while his step-father of eight years is from Puerto Rico. The youths come from families ranging in size from three to eleven siblings.

No one of them knew everyone else before they enrolled at Seward Park, nor does any one of them engage in social activities with all of the others after school or on weekends. Their organizational purpose is for self-protection; they have not taken aggressive or initiating action to engage in any fights during the course of our fieldwork.

The clique directly connected to Jose and including him live in the Rutgers housing development, while the clique directly connected to Chino but excluding him live in the Smith projects. Hutch and Starsky live across the street from one another, Mitch and Ray live together, and Paco and Stevie both live in the Smith public housing development. Neighborhood residence is a primary basis for clique organization but does not explain the basis for the formation of this action-set.

An important and very recent finding emerging from our fieldwork is that the bureaucratic status within Sheridan of the action-set members appears to correspond directly with their clique affiliation. Paco is planning to attend a local college next year, and Stevie is the only other person with the expressed expectation that he will finish high school.

Mitch and Ray were transferred together to Henry Street Settlement House during the second school term. The clique surrounding Chino does not attend classes regularly. Mikey, in fact, is enrolled at a different high school but is frequently found around Sheridan during school hours. All except Chino have until last week attended official period, where daily attendance is taken for school records. At that time, he and the two other persons connected to Jose announced their intention to drop out of school together-- i.e., as a unit. That they should make such a decision as a group is a very significant finding. This fact, combined with the bureaucratic statuses of the other cliques, gives us strong reason to believe that cliques such as the ones identified are the major building blocks for the construction of larger social units of organization among male adolescents at Sheridan.

Snake was supposed to graduate last term but was unable to take final exams due to illness and is no longer enrolled at Sheridan. He has seldom been around the school this term. During his absence, Jose has emerged as the leader of this action-set. He does not attend his classes regularly but comes to school almost every day. It seems logical for him to assume the leadership, since more persons were connected to him than to anyone other than Snake prior to the latter's departure, i.e., he had the largest following. How the departure of Gil, William and Chino will affect his position is presently unclear. He seems to be inviting students from his building to hang out with the group in an effort to keep it intact.

Physical appearances can be divided into three categories. Jose, Mitch, Ray and Mikey are brown-skinned with somewhat curly hair. Snake, Hutch, Starsky, Chino and William (I) appear to be white Puerto Rican or Italian. Paco and Gil are copper-skinned with afros. William (PR) and Stevie look like Snake et al. except for large afro hair styles that they wear.

In reviewing the above, there is a conspicuous lack of information about three categories which are often considered to be important bases for group formations, i.e., religion, family structure and socio-economic status. These categories are seemingly unimportant variables in relation to an analysis of this network, for we have never heard anyone on the outside comment on any of these subjects unless we were asking about them. Perhaps these variables relate to unconscious factors or to secondary structures which affect social organization and need to be investigated. In any event, they do not seem to enter into verbal or observed behavior of these action-set members, and do not enter into the above network analysis.

Numerous students--perhaps 200 or more--hang out on the periphery of the building for no less than a thirty minute period every day. We have conversed with many of them in varying lengths and detail about their relations with one another. Several patterns have emerged through the course of these informal interviews. Our fieldwork indicates that activities outside Sheridan are circumscribed by the elements of structure and process related to the formal organization of the school itself. Erving Goffman discusses a similar phenomenon in his essay on "The Moral

Career of the Mental Patient" (Goffman, 1961:134); he finds that contingencies, more than any identifiable traits or set of traits, seem to explain the behavioral patterns of persons admitted to mental institutions.

Many students hanging outside Sheridan appear to have chosen their times and places according to their class schedules. For example, numerous students come outside only during a lunch or study period and/or before or after they attend all of their classes. Such students can be limited in their selection of acquaintances to those persons who have similar schedules to their own. In such instances, their friendships are subject to the temporal boundaries imposed by the school. We have also found that most students will congregate in different areas outside Sheridan at different times of the day. For example, the chances are much greater that a student on the outside will be in front of the main entrance before the beginning of first or second periods than anywhere else because that is the only entrance through which students are allowed to enter the building at those times. In this instance, the school is defining the physical boundaries within which many students interact.

There are elements of social structure outside Sheridan, on the other hand, which seem to affect the formal organization of the school. For example, two very close friends with different lunch periods might choose to cut one class apiece so that they "can eat lunch together." Several students have employed this strategy after their attempts to alter their schedules so that they could have the same lunch period had failed. Social relationships also seem to affect class attendance, particularly during

the first and last periods. Numerous students have been observed to cut a class upon encountering a friend hanging outside, even though the former student might have initially intended to attend class. Fewer opportunities for classroom learning will be available to a student in either instance described above; this could have a critical effect upon their chances to achieve and to succeed as students.

An explanation for ego structure and process can be defined for most students we've met outside Sheridan. The contingencies outlined above form a critical part of our analysis for each person. We will illustrate this point below by describing the ego-centered network for Hutch, a member of the action-set discussed above.

Hutch's ego network can be sketched exactly as it's been done above. He interacts with several other persons outside Sheridan, but the bonds are very weak. For example, Miguel, who is not included above, is sometimes in contact with Hutch for brief and inconsistent periods of time. Their association appears to be based on a mutual friendship with Snake, who is Miguel's cousin. Hutch is also in contact with at least two female students named Susan and Linda, according to our conversations; however, he does not spend time with either of them on the periphery of the school. Since Snake no longer attends Sheridan, Hutch's contact with him is restricted to visits that Snake makes to the school. Based on these considerations, we would represent Hutch's present ego network as a strong bond with Starsky, and a weaker, disintegrating bond with Snake.

Hutch and Starsky normally arrive at school together. If they are early and the weather is not very cold, they will wait across the street from the main entrance for classes to begin. During lunch periods, they usually come outside and stand together on Broad Street or in the pizza shop; their contact with others is limited to greetings or brief verbal exchanges. Since they were unable to arrange their schedules for the same lunch, each person will cut one period so that they can have lunch together.

Hutch is a first generation New Yorker and speaks Spanish. His parents were born in Puerto Rico. He and Starsky are cousins and live diagonally across the street from one another. He lives with both parents and several siblings. He works part-time during the school year and full-time during summers at a grocery store on the Lower East Side. He had been meeting every week with a "shrink" at the clinic at Bellevue Hospital since he was 12 years old, where he reportedly discusses adjustment problems at home and at school.

Hutch is enrolled in the tenth grade at SHS. His academic record is very poor, by his own report. He does not believe he will finish high school because he finds it to be "boring." He took the entrance exam for Aviation High School and did not pass; he believes he was not admitted because he is Puerto Rican and "the tests are for whites." Hutch normally attends all of his classes with three exceptions: (A) fight time, (B) Starsky's lunch period and (C) if "there is a teacher who doesn't try to help you in class." He consistently cut two classes during last term and gave (C) as the reason for his behavior.

The above findings represent how network analysis is useful to the study of social boundaries. The action-set and ego-centered networks are two examples of numerous individual as well as group networks we are studying. They are presented as samples and to illustrate several important findings in the study of transactions which take place in an informal, student-defined school setting. To arrive at these findings, we found it necessary to ask questions such as:

- Who interacts together?
- Under what circumstances?
- How often?
- What do they do together?
- How are they connected to one another?
- What do they say about what they do together, about themselves as individuals and about each other?
- How are their relationships affected when they go inside the school? go home?
- How did persons decide to informally get together?
- Why do they continue to get together?

Physical Boundaries

One unique characteristic of the peripheral area of most high schools is the mobility it provides for students to congregate in ways that they themselves choose. In an urban area, the immediate surroundings of a school can often harbor a fair amount of activity even when schools are closed. Student activity consequently becomes one of a number of general transactions such as shopping, buying food or using public transportation which occurs in the area. The periphery can also provide protection for young persons who might otherwise be brought to the attention of law enforcement officials or irate community residents. Amidst the hustle and bustle of urban life, a reasonable attitude for a

passerby or local resident to have is that the school administration and staff have a responsibility which extends to a nebulous point somewhere outside the walls of the building; student activity, even if somewhat offensive and distasteful to others, can be designated as "the school's problem."

If viewed from this perspective, one can assume that configurations of youth outside the school can be defined and informally established. They have been subject only to isolated instances of regulation by school authorities, law enforcement officials and/or local merchants during our fieldwork. For the most part, such occurrences have consisted of very sporadic and ineffective attempts by adult representatives with institutional orientations to impose behavioral standards on activity occurring in the public domain. Statements like, "Don't stand in the hallway of my store," "Don't play that radio in this shop," "Don't stand in the vestibule of my store," or "Go throw that frisbee in the park around the corner" are examples of efforts to control student behavior. The force of all these statements is directed at the activity in process. No incidents have been observed or reported by anyone which involved attempts by institutional officials or even passersby to sort students according to criteria such as physical characteristics, ability level, age, sex or ethnicity.

Youth are given an opportunity to sort themselves into groups on the periphery of the school with a minimal amount of outside interference from adults. This point is particularly significant when juxtaposed with the fact that classroom groupings and scheduling--i.e., their performances

immediately after entering the school itself--are assigned by and subject to the discretions of adult teachers, counselors and administrators. The only practical influence which the school seems to exert upon student configurations in this area is through the definition of which streets will contain most of the transactions occurring on the outside. The entry of students for the first two periods is allowed through only one side of the building, so most persons around Sheridan can be found on that side. Later in the day, a different side is used. One finds a sharp increase in the numbers of students who congregate on this street at this time, with practically no persons standing on the former street. Students are not permitted to enter or leave through the other two sides of the SHS building. This regulation notwithstanding, about four or five persons use each of the four illegal entry points during each one of the nine period changes in the school.

Individuals tend to congregate around the building in groups which can be primarily identified through the physical characteristics of the persons in the group. This finding was fairly obvious after only one day of observation. My fieldnotes for that first day state:

My general impression was that most students can be found outside of Sheridan along an L-shaped line that goes from the corner of Water and Second down to First and Broad. For the most part, the students on the handball courts appeared to be of Hispanic origin. Youths in the pizzeria were mostly black and white. The youths inside and in front of the dairy restaurant appeared to be Oriental. There were numerous groups which were mixed on Second between Broad and Water and students on the corner of Second and Water proceeding down Water St. were mostly black.

As fieldwork progressed, we discovered that the patterning of configurations is much more complex than described above. Territorial behavior outside the school,* which initially appeared to be a fairly simple and straightforward matter of definition, has actually been subject to considerable revision and changes in perspective. We find that there are a great many more cross-ethnic transactions and interactions than met my eyes on that first day. While some areas are routinely occupied by groups that are predominantly Black or White or Hispanic or Chinese, there is no absolute area that is exclusive to any one of these groups; furthermore, some aggregations which appear to be singularly ethnic in composition have turned out to be cross-ethnic. Appendices A, B and C are attached to indicate how the space outside the school is generally used and allocated at different times of the day. Our general finding, which will be expanded on below, is that territorial behavior in an informal, quasi-institutional setting is governed by social boundaries among groups as well as institutional constraints and the physical characteristics of the environment. Most importantly, all of these factors are subject to the conditions of the event in which persons are participating. By expanding on previous efforts of social scientists to examine events in their context (Burnett, 1973), the above finding becomes more understandable.

*This term will be used to mean "behavior by which someone characteristically claims the right to an area and protects it from the interests of others." The term is defined from a social psychological viewpoint rather than from an experimental behaviorist viewpoint and is not intended to infer whether territorial behavior is innate or learned. See footnote 5 in Robert Sommer (1969:14).

One example of territorial behavior can be found in the sale of illicit drugs, almost all of which is marijuana, around the high school. The arrangements for buying and selling marijuana are similar to arrangements one makes for other consumable items. While each buyer can go almost anywhere to buy what is wanted, each seller usually is confined to a particular location. My field notes state:

I said to Eddie, why don't you and your friend go around the corner of Water St. I think someone wants to buy some loose J's (marijuana cigarettes) there. Eddie ignored my inquiry. I was sure that he heard me because I repeated the question after tapping him on the shoulder to get his attention. As his friend continued to call out to persons in an effort to make a sale, I asked Eddie again, why don't you and your friends go around the corner on Water St. Some guys up there were looking for some smoke (marijuana) before. Eddie did not make any effort to answer my question again. He and his friend continued to address themselves to passersby and the students standing across the street.

Eddie and his friend are Hispanic. They were standing on Broad Street in front of a doorway where Hispanic youths normally are found. They were not making any sales at the time of the above report. When it was suggested that they go up to Water Street, they were uninterested. Eddie later explained that the two of them did not care to go up to Water Street because that is where Blacks sell their dope. While numerous Hispanic youths occasionally go up to this site to buy marijuana, no persons other than Blacks are "given" the right to sell there. The rights to sell change over to Hispanic or Chinese in those areas where each group is found to predominate in numbers. Buying and selling marijuana is an activity which occurs every day and within fairly well-defined physical boundaries.

Another example of territorial behavior can be found in the physical space people choose to use during crisis situations. An example of such is an anticipated fight between students who represent different interest groups. The case reported below marks one of only two instances in which a confrontation between representatives from two groups, which might lead to a "gangfight," has been observed or reported during our fieldwork.

The youths [two of them] looked as though they were ready to exchange blows. At this point someone in the crowd remarked, hey, you can't have a fight out here on the street. There's not enough room. There will be too much trouble. So let's go over to the playground. A number of students murmured their agreement with this suggestion. With no further hesitation, followed by the crowd, they began to head toward the playground with the handball court. This was around the corner from the pizza shop on First between Broad and Church Streets. I followed the movement of the crowd, lingering toward the rear. I noted that numerous blacks and orientals were among the students who were observing this altercation. They did not seem to be among the persons toward the middle or center of the crowd. However, they did, judging by their comments, appear to be quite interested in what was going on. As we walked toward the playground, a couple of hispanic youths stood on the street and shouted out, joints here. Get your loose joints. Get your joints before you go to watch the show. Don't be caught without. Don't go empty handed. Get your loose joints right here. Although I did not notice anyone making a purchase, it appeared as though the point was not passed up by the youths' presence. Some laughed as they heard the sale pitch being made. Others said that they wanted to know how good was their credit. The movement from Broad St. to the playground had some characteristics of a circus atmosphere. I asked two oriental males and two hispanic males what the fight was all about. They said that they did not know. I asked them why they were coming to see the fight. They said that these things happen every now and then and that they're good to talk about afterwards. The procession of students took about five minutes to walk over to the playground and squeeze inside the fence that surrounded it.

A larger crowd had gathered around Ray and the other youth than was previously on Broad St. It must have numbered about 130 people. Ray appeared to be going over the previous remarks that had been made on Grand with the youth he was confronting. Another youth stepped up beside the first and took off his jacket. It looked to me as though he was going to get involved in any action if there was a fight. Someone in the crowd referred to the second youth by the name of George. I then noticed that Paco was close to Ray and doing a lot of talking. Within a couple of minutes, Paco had hurriedly thrown off his three quarter length coat and unbuttoned his shirt, tossing them both to the ground. He looked as though he was ready to begin fighting the youth named George. At about this point, two men among the crowd called out loudly, all right, fellas. Now break this up. This is enough. You can't fight here. Paco appeared to be trying to swing at George. One of the men who had called out grabbed ahold of Paco, keeping him away from George. The other man called out louder and with more vehemence. I heard the sound of a whistle. It was a long, not very loud or shrill noise coming from someone nearby. I turned to see a man with a leg in a steel brace blowing with what appeared to be great energy into a whistle.

The youths who were about to fight were Puerto Rican. They came outside the school after their efforts to stage a fight inside had failed. In choosing a location for the confrontation, they moved to an area where Hispanic students predominate its numbers. The fight was aborted by two school security guards, even though it is unclear whether the new location was considered to be school property.

This incident differs from the only other instance of group confrontation outside the school in that the latter was between Blacks and Hispanics. Both events were initiated, interestingly enough, through personal conflicts between two individuals inside the school cafeteria. The two instances can be contrasted to show how social and psychological rights to territory are significant considerations in the above example.

During the Black-Hispanic confrontation, a group of 15-20 Black males walked along the boundary of an Hispanic area at one point in an apparent effort to look for those persons they were to fight. Later that same day, a group of 20-30 Hispanic males walked up to, but not across, the boundary of a predominantly Black area for the same purpose. The behavior was quite different from that in an all-Puerto Rican confrontation, where there was no hesitation about an acceptable location for the staging of a fight.

Institutional constraints affect both events analyzed above. I have found that on any given day a handful of individuals will spend most of their time at school trying to sell marijuana. Although the same persons are not sellers every day, the procedures they follow are in fact the same. They will all stand outside the school at a location across from the school entrance. Such a place is convenient and appropriate for others in that they are close to the general flow of student traffic inside and they look like they are merely waiting for one of their classes rather than selling marijuana. There is no place inside the school with such characteristics except, perhaps, the classroom area itself. While this might be an even better location for some youths to sell, it is very poor for all who sell outside the school since they report a distinct disinterest in classroom activities.

We noted in the second example above that the two instances of group confrontation had initially begun in the school cafeteria. While numerous others have actually taken place in the cafeteria on these two occasions, it seems, there was no opportunity for the process to move

from its argumentative stage to a combative one. The periphery of the school was convenient and appropriate in that the two participants and their backers could reassemble with little interference from school authorities and look like they were engaging in a routine group gathering.

There is a clear need for further investigation of the social as well as the physical boundaries among high school students in informal student-defined settings. This research was begun under the assumption that the organization of the school moves some young people to be outside during school hours, just as it moves young students and older personnel to arrive and leave at fairly established times on Mondays through Fridays except holidays. Our assumption at the beginning of this fieldwork, however, was extended to include the notion that student behavior on the periphery of the high school is autonomous and subject to minimal control by organizational factors.

We were initially most interested in how ascribed characteristics such as sex and ethnicity affect the transactions among student peers taking place on the outside. Such ascribed characteristics were assumed to relate more significantly to social and territorial behavior than any other factors we could study. Our assumptions have changed considerably and continue to change as we collect more data. Our findings presently indicate that the interactive processes as well as the structural elements which form the basis for individual and collective behavior can not be accounted for through a simple examination of trait factors. There are distinct ways in which behavior seems to be strongly affected by the organization of schooling itself. We are now assuming that the contexts

within which behavior occurs is as critical a factor as the characteristics of the participants.

Footnotes

1. Cf. Roger G. Barker and Paul V. Gump, Big School, Small School (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1964); James S. Coleman, Adolescents and the Schools (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1965); Phillip Cusick, Inside High School (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1973); Phillip Jackson, Life in Classrooms (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1968); Eleanor Burke Leacock, Teaching and Learning in City Schools (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1969).

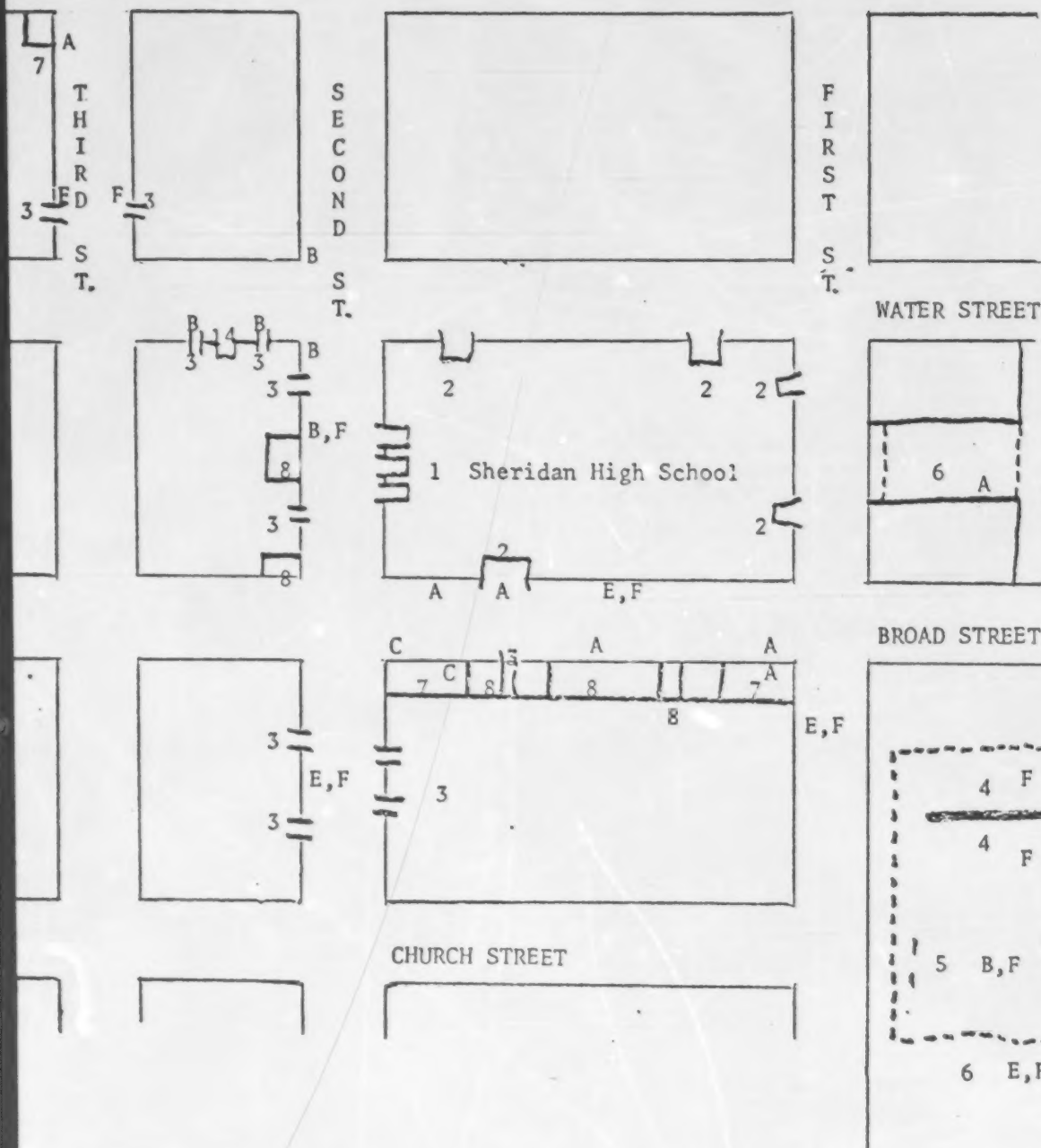
2. C. Wright Mills, "Situated Actions and Vocabularies of Motives" in Symbolic Interaction: A Reader in Social Psychology, 2nd ed.; Jerome G. Manis and Bernard N. Meltzer, eds. (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1972).

3. Jeremy Boissevain, Friends of Friends (Oxford: Basil Blackwell and Mott Ltd., 1974).

4. Erving Goffman, Asylums (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1961), p. 134.

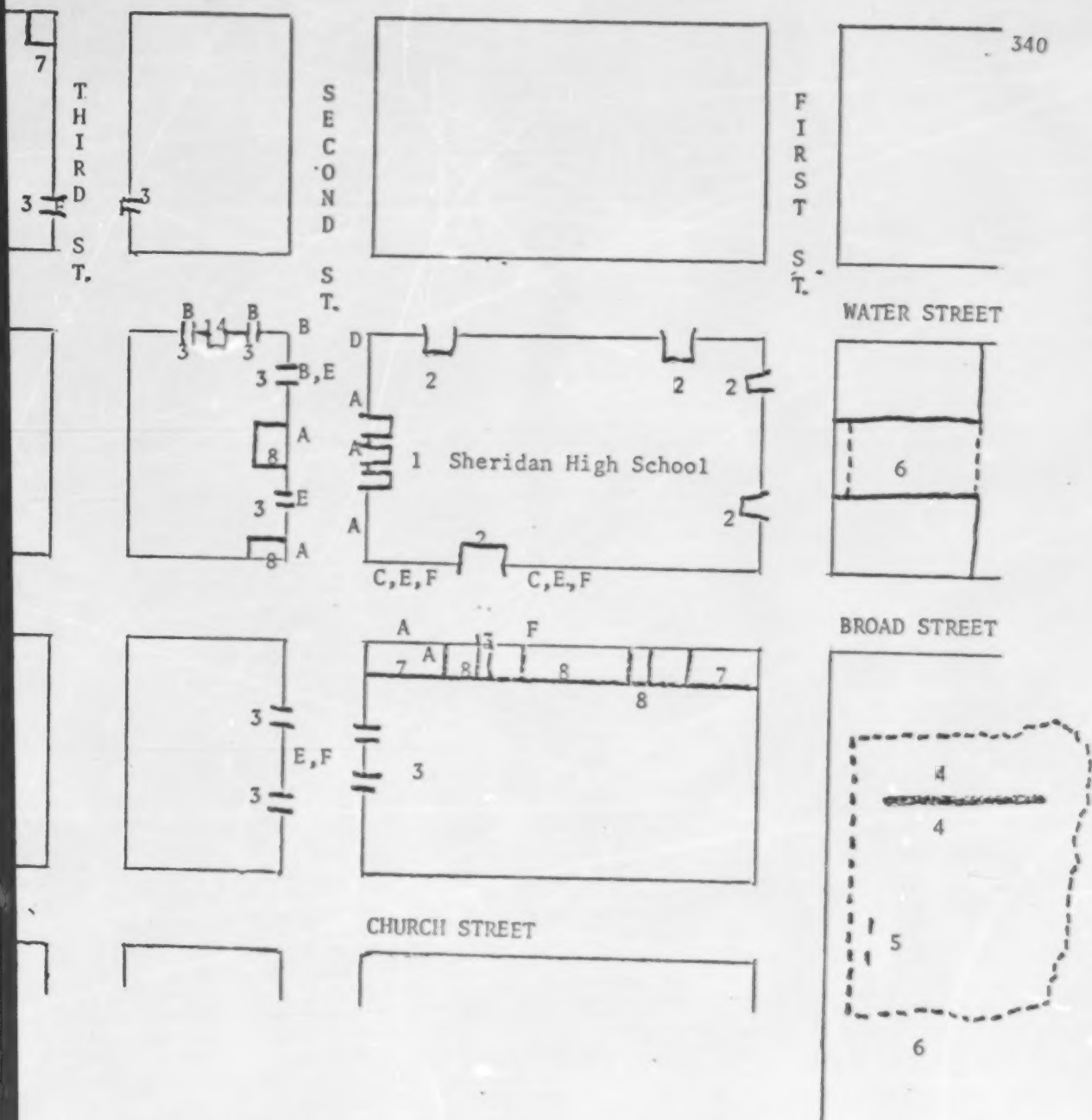
5. This term will be used to mean "behavior by which someone characteristically claims the right to an area and protects it from the interests of others." The term is defined from a social psychological viewpoint rather than from an experimental behaviorist viewpoint and is not intended to infer whether territorial is innate or learned. See footnote 5 in Robert Sommer, Personal Space (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1969), p. 14.

6. Jacquette Burnett, "Event Analysis in the Microethnography of Classrooms" in Cultural Relevance and Educational Issues, Francis A. J. Ianni and Edward Storey, eds. (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1973), pp. 287-303.



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|-------------------------------------|----------------------|
| 1. High School Main Entrance | A. All ethnic groups |
| 2. High School Side Entrances | B. Black |
| 3. Hallways (shelters) | C. Chinese |
| 4. Handball Courts (blacktop area) | E. White |
| 5. Basketball Court (blacktop area) | F. Hispanic |
| 6. Recreation Parks | |
| 7. Eating Establishments | |
| 8. Local Stores | |

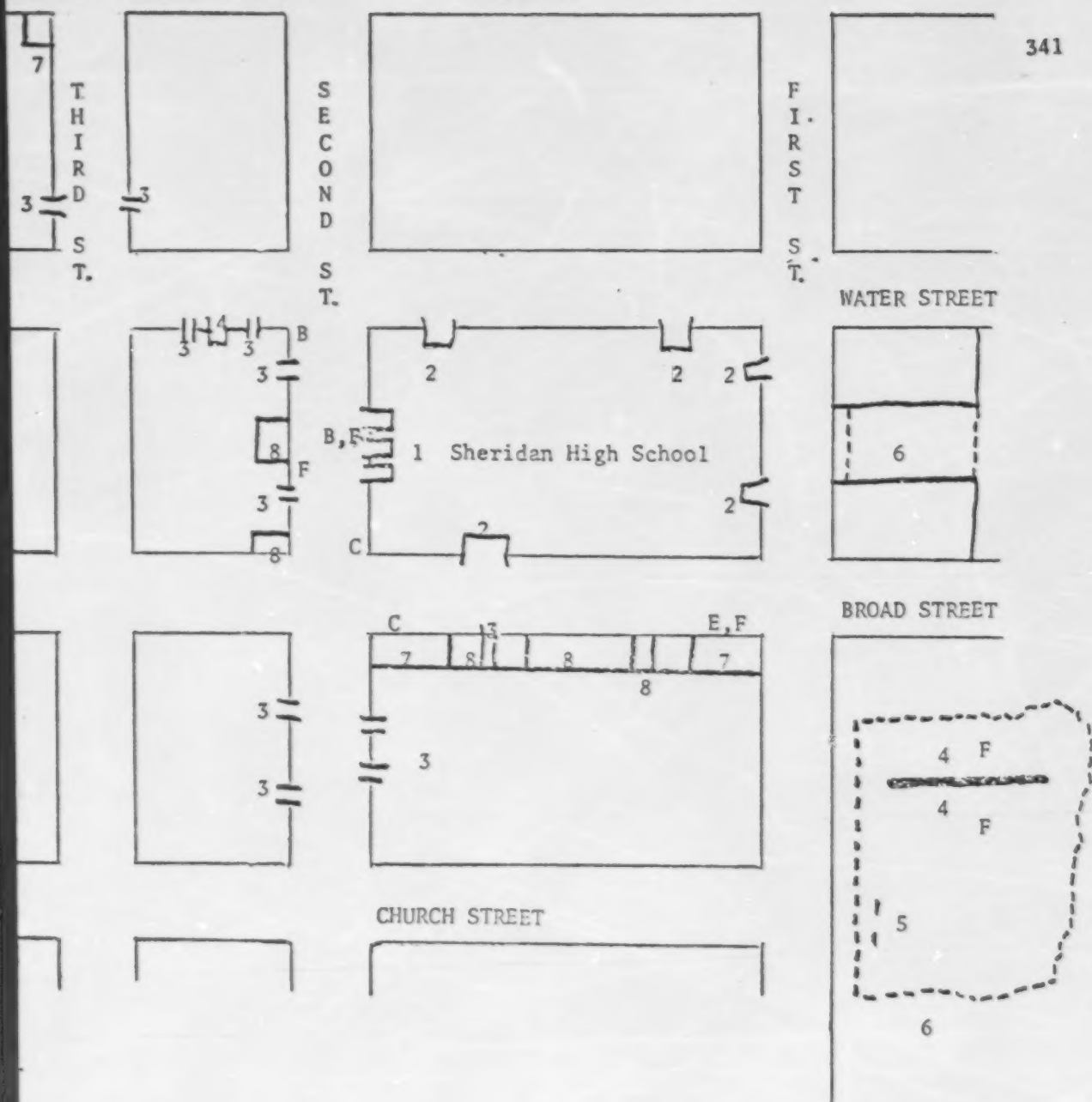
Midday (10:00-2:00)
 Sheridan and Vicinity



1. High School Main Entrance
2. High School Side Entrances
3. Hallways (shelters)
4. Handball Courts (blacktop area)
5. Basketball Court (blacktop area)
6. Recreation Parks
7. Eating Establishments
8. Local Stores

- A. All ethnic groups
- B. Black
- C. Chinese
- D. Dominican
- E. White
- F. Hispanic

Sheridan and Vicinity



- | | |
|-------------------------------------|----------------------|
| 1. High School Main Entrance | A. All ethnic groups |
| 2. High School Side Entrances | B. Black |
| 3. Hallways (shelters) | C. Chinese |
| 4. Handball Courts (blacktop area) | E. White |
| 5. Basketball Court (blacktop area) | F. Hispanic |
| 6. Recreation Parks | |
| 7. Eating Establishments | |
| 8. Local Stores | |

Afternoon (2:00-3:00)
Sheridan and Vicinity

Comparative Analysis of the Eight "Days in the Life"

We have now examined in detail the school experiences of eight students from different backgrounds. The short analysis of each day have have assessed the three factors of (1) the informant's place in the social structure of the larger community, (2) the characteristics of the informant's personal network within the school, and (3) the characteristics of the informant's relations with the school organization. Now we will assess the general pattern that emerges from the comparison of the eight cases that we have presented in detail.. As we construct our generalizations, we will refer constantly back to the cases presented for illustration and in order to keep out generalizations grounded in the data. We are also, of course, drawing upon many other cases recorded in our notes.

We will begin the generalizations by comparing the personal networks of the students. We will first examine the ways in which friendship networks in the school are recruited. We wish to know to what extent prior community based ties can be seen to account for ties within the school and to what extent school-specific factors account for linkages of persons. Both processes, community-based and school-specific are clearly evident. The question then shifts to how these processes work and how they are inter-related. Finally, we will examine the relationship of the social networks of the students with their statuses in the school organization. We wish to know to what extent there is such a relationship, and, again what processes can be seen to account for any such patterns.

The personal networks of Sheridan students are recruited from five major sources, none of which is empirically independent of the other four. These five sources are: (1) neighborhood of residence, (2) ethnicity, (3) social class, (4) status in the school organization, and (5) activities of special interest and instrumental transactions generally. Now let us look at each of these factors separately and trace the relationship of each factor to the other factors.

Neighborhood of residence. All of the students we have observed have friends in the school whom they know from outside the school. In most cases, a student's "best friend" is likely to be someone known from the neighborhood. This is certainly true for Daniel McKee, Cindy Ng, Carmen Nieves, Hutch, and Josie. The possible exceptions are Louise Marshall, Lucy Han, and Mike Edwards. Louise claims that she has met most of her school friends in school. They are predominantly black like herself. We simply do not know which of them are from "uptown" or "downtown". Thus it is possible that she also knows some of her friends from the neighborhood, in contradiction of her self-report and our data may be at fault. Mike Edwards' "best friend" is a black male from a different neighborhood, but he also has many friends of several ethnic groups from his own neighborhood. Lucy Han who lives near but not in Chinatown presents herself as separate from other Chinese in the school, but in fact she is intimately familiar with what they do. She also has friends from several ethnic groups from the local neighborhood.

The implications of the importance of neighborhood ties with respect to the ethnicity of a student's friends are complex since Sheriden students come both from highly segregated neighborhoods like Central Harlem and Chinatown as well as from neighborhoods with more fluid boundaries such as many parts of the Lower East Side. Thus, Lucy Han and Mike Edwards have poly-ethnic associations outside as well as inside school. The others seem to have predominantly intra-ethnic relationships outside school. In general, Harlem blacks and Chinatown Chinese have the most intra-ethnic networks both inside and outside school.

Ethnicity. Common ethnic identity is a powerful source of friendship recruitment within the school. The meaning of ethnicity requires some disentangling, however, before this generalization can be interpreted. Ethnic identity itself is composed of many factors, including language, class, religion, phenotype, political orientation, and even, in our analysis, neighborhood of residence within the city. Central Harlem, for example, is both more highly politicized in terms of an ethnic ideology and more ethnically segregated than the Lower East Side. The examination of the politics of ethnicity requires in turn an analysis of social class. The ethnic politician is often either an individual of higher class or upwardly mobile who appeals to lower class members of his/her group as a constituency. The student government in Sheridan replicates the patterns of citywide politics in this respect. This politicized process of ethnic identification must be distinguished from the more passive and unconsciously chosen identification that arises from common cultural patterns of speech, role expectations, beliefs and attitudes, and co-residence in an ethnically segregated ghetto. This second form of ethnic identification is likely to diminish with upward socio-economic mobility which may be associated with assimilation to the institutions of the larger society and escape from the confines of the ghetto. The politicized form of ethnicity, however, may assume increasing importance at the same time that the cultural content of ethnicity and the economic segregation which creates the ghetto is diminishing. In New York these two processes are strikingly evident.

With the foregoing qualifications, then, we may yet observe that students who make friends in Sheridan with youths previously unknown to them are most likely to choose others of similar ethnic background.

Social Class normally operates as a source of recruitment of friends within ethnic boundaries but, again, also mediated by neighborhood residence. The inter-relations of class and ethnicity in American life are of great dialectical complexity. In New York newspapers, "Blacks and Hispanics" and "lower class" are used almost interchangeably. This obscures the position of the middle classes of these groups. In Sheridan, Irish, Italian, and Jewish youths are predominantly middle class. Two groups of middle class Chinese are distinguishable, the American-born Chinese who emigrated from China at an earlier time and the Chinese-speaking later emigrants. The former group came from lower class backgrounds in the Orient and have worked their way up through the American educational system. The latter group have been called the "stranded-Chinese." These people come from higher class backgrounds in China. Their parents came to this country for education or for political reasons and have remained. They speak Chinese and retain more of Chinese culture in their family lives. As we have seen in the case of Lucy Han and Steven Wong, there is both separation and contact between these two groups. (Kuo, 1970) Many of the black students in Sheridan are poor, but the middle class blacks still greatly outnumber middle-class Hispanics. Hispanics are the poorest as a group, yet the lower class Chinese whose parents work in the factories and restaurants of Chinatown are also among the poorest students in Sheridan.

In general, individuals of higher class are less bound by the strictly cultural content of ethnicity, although they may or may not still attach great importance to co-ethnicity. Their general institutional competence is

much higher and thus they find it not so difficult to engage in instrumental transactions with others who are similarly competent. The most prestigious classes in Sheridan are the most mixed. The striking exception to this generalization is the number of advanced math and science classes at Sheridan which are predominantly Chinese. These students are most likely to come from higher class backgrounds in China. They bring with them educational and institutional competence, but they lack facility with the English languages and concentrate their efforts on math and science. They are structurally assimilated but culturally segregated.

The phenomenon of the high rate of inter-ethnic interactions of the ethnic politician, who is likely to be middle-class is a special case of the effect of social class on ethnicity. Here the very process of activist ethnic identification leads the social actor into a wider arena of associations.

In general, ethnic boundaries are more rigid among lower class members of the ethnic category and among more recent immigrants. The "stranded-Chinese" are the exception to the general rule that the more recent arrivals are usually also poorer. Higher class members of ethnic groups may still maintain their primary associations with co-ethnics, but they are thrown into more instrumental transactions with members of other groups since the more prestigious classes at Sheridan are more mixed than the less prestigious classes, which tend to be predominantly lower class and non-white.

Status in the School Organization. A student's individual path through a day at Sheridan is a primary determinant of his/her possibilities for informal friendship ties. The school's size and complexity and the stratification of

its curriculum are the two factors which most influence a student's informal associations. The size and complexity of the school most often serve to fragment the associations that are brought into the school from the neighborhood. Students are often not able to see their best friends because their programs diverge. Much of the high rate of class-cutting that constitutes one of the school's major organizational problems is attributable to this fact. The days of Mike Edwards, Hutch, and Carmen Nieves all demonstrate that students cut class in order to be with their friends who are in close physical proximity but separated by their schedules. This pattern is repeated throughout our field notes. One of the great curiosities of Sheridan is the fact that students will come to school day after day and yet miss their classes. Instead they congregate on the immediate outside periphery of the school, in stairs, hallways, the cafeteria, and even in the administrative offices under the very noses of adult staff. They don't like classes, but they love school for the opportunity it gives them to congregate with their age peers. Only a small percentage of them manage to structure their informal associations within the extra-curricular activities that the school provides and legitimates such as the student clubs, teams, and activities. Other students make clandestine appropriations of whatever un-supervised space and time they can find.

The stratification of the curriculum to some extent cuts against the fragmentation which results from size and complexity. The complexity divided curriculum with its many special programs tends to reinforce class and ethnicity. Recent immigrants are funneled into the ESL, bilingual, and other language classes. White and Chinese students are disproportionately

concentrated in college preparatory classes and programs. Black and Hispanic students are disproportionately concentrated in "slow learner" and business classes. Even when two students who are of similar background and who are already friends are placed in the same segments of the curriculum, however, they are still likely to be separated by their programs, since there are several sections of each class. Thus, the curriculum tends to fragment neighborhood ties even though it also reinforces class and ethnic divisions. This fact is partly responsible for the phenomenon of ethnicity as a recruitment factor inside the school. A student finds him/herself in a classroom with other students s/he does not already know. Some of these other students are of similar background and some are not. Those with common elements of identity are likely to strike up new relationships. Mike Edwards and Lousie Marshall both report such situations. We have also seen examples of this situation for white, Hispanic, and Chinese students.

Special Interests and Instrumental Transactions. Sheridan students often associate with others on the basis of common interest. Although some interests may be culturally specialized, this source of recruitment of associates is the most likely to cut across ethnic boundaries. The Chinese, for example, predominate on the math team and, in some years, in art and photography work for student publications. Several of the sports teams appeal to particular groups. Blacks predominate in basketball and track; Hispanics in soccer and baseball; whites on the girls' swimming team. The girls modern dance classes appeal equally to blacks and Hispanics. The Culture Clubs appeal overtly to ethnicity and reify ethnic identity within the school.

Other extra-curricular activities, however, represent the most noticeable loci of recurrent inter-ethnic interactions among Sheridan students. The SO Executive Council, the Drama group, and the Peer Group Organization all usually have poly-ethnic membership. The informal associations in these activities operate with clearly defined rules of how to deal with ethnic boundaries. To some extent, the students who participate in these three organizations overlap. They constitute a minority among Sheridan students both in the fact that they look to the extra-curricular activities of the school for their friendships and in the poly-ethnic makeup of their networks. Since the same group, more or less, provides the basic membership of all three of these organizations, their relationships are often those of diffuse friendship.

In contrast to these relationships of diffuse solidarity across ethnic boundaries, the other domains of inter-ethnic association which we have observed represent limited instrumental transactions that occur in specific situations and not in others.

The first of these situations of instrumental transaction is that which our observer Samuel Henry has labelled the "learning underground." This phrase refers to a recurrent pattern of classroom behavior in which students share help with their lessons, either licitly or illicitly in the form of "cheating", but in either case without direction from or apparent awareness on the part of the teacher. In cases where students have diffuse friendships and are in the same classroom, their sharing of their work is predictable more regular. However, we have observed that students are quite willing to share their schoolwork across ethnic boundaries. This

sharing may include "cheating" such as the incident in which Daniel McKee gives his answers to an Hispanic male student in the accounting class, or may include licit sharing of textbooks and classroom exercises as in the case of Cindy Ng and Angela but this pattern of cooperation in school-work across ethnic boundaries that would separate the same individuals in social encounters outside the classroom is very common.

The second common pattern of inter-ethnic instrumental transactions is that of the buying, selling, and, to a lesser extent the consumption, of marijuana both inside the school in clandestinely occupied areas and outside on the immediate periphery of the school. Shared consumption implies a more diffuse friendship while buying and selling are more strictly instrumental transactions. The days of Daniel McKee and Hutch illustrate these patterns.

Having now compared the characteristics of the social networks of Sheridan students and examined the various community-generated and school-specific factors which are the bases for recruitment of these networks, we must now ask the significance of all this for the process of education and the design of educational organizations.

Let us first address the question of whether associations across ethnic boundaries are related with success in school. The Chinese-speaking honors students immediately seem to refute such a supposition. Among our eight students, however, the two with the best academic records, Lucy Han and Mike Edwards, are also the two with most the mixed sets of friendships.

Social class does seem to correlate highly with academic success. Middle-class members are the best students, regardless of ethnicity.

Again, however, we are confounded in any simple correlation of class and success by the differential school success of lower-class Chinese and lower-class blacks and Hispanics. Among our eight students, we may observe that Cindy Ng maintains a much more mutually productive relationship with the school than Louise Marshall, Carmen Nieves, Hutch, or Josie. Thus, neither class nor ethnicity, so difficult to separate even conceptually, is sufficient to explain differences in school performance.

In order to resolve this dilemma we must differentiate between structural and cultural assimilation. The Chinese students in Sheridan are more structurally than culturally assimilated with regard to the predominantly white and Jewish faculty and administration. Blacks have far less cultural distance from the adult staff than the Chinese. They share native English speech, citizenship, and political socialization. The two groups are however placed in structural opposition at this historical juncture, especially in the aftermath of the 1968 teacher's strike and the dispute over community control. Hispanics have been structurally allied with blacks since that same strike, although the interests of these two groups are also now diverging as Hispanic political organization begins to emerge. Hispanics are also separated culturally from the adult staff by speech and by their circular migration to and from the Caribbean. Dominicans are non-citizens, more politicized than Puerto Ricans, and consequently even farther in social distance from the staff.

Structural assimilation appears to be the most important criterion for academic success. Close personal friendship across ethnic boundaries does not seem to be necessary for academic success. The ability to deal

with members of other groups in instrumental transactions, however, is highly necessary for success. The Chinese students and the white, mostly Jewish teachers of Sheridan have different cultural backgrounds. Their assumptions about schooling, however, are similiar enough to permit a workable structural alliance even across a great gulf of social distance.

Middle class students of any ethnicity are also more likely to share with the staff certain assumptions about schooling. Lower class black and Hispanic students, however, do not share such assumptions. They expect little from the school and the school expects little from them. They have the poorest academic records, encounter more disciplinary sanctions, and participate least in extra-curricular activities.

Sociolinguistic Analysis of Ethnic Labelling Behavior

In our earlier comparative study of three high schools, we identified a basic social process which we called "sorting" which took different forms in each of the three schools. Simply put, high school students in each site did not associate randomly but formed cliques and personal friendship networks. In each site, this process of social differentiation was accompanied by a set of categorical linguistic terms which students assigned each other, although the correspondance of these terms to actual patterns of association was by no means perfect. In the rural school, students sorted each other in terms of their place of residence, the names of each of eight local towns and villages from which the school drew its population thus providing names for various cliques. In the urban school, Sheridan, the most common sorting practice involved the assignment of labels referring to racial phenotype, language, religion, culture, or place of origin. In the suburban school, which served a highly undifferentiated population living in a circumscribed local area, the sorting labels most commonly used were "jock" and "freak" and did not correspond to any identifiable structural attributes of those so labelled such as class, ethnicity, residence.

As mentioned, the correspondence between these systems of labelling categories and actual patterns of association is not perfect. There can be no question, therefore, of making any statements about the relevance of these labelling systems to the processes of social action before conducting an examination of the use of these labels in actual situations. Many of the theoretical debates in contemporary anthropology, such as those between cultural materialists and symbolic anthropologists, concern exactly these questions of the relation between linguistic categories and social action. These debates make it all the more essential that language and

action be studied in interaction, with neither postulated a priori as determinative or epiphenomenal of the other. Language categories are instruments of social action, but they are also the results of social action.

Thus, the complexity and pervasiveness of ethnic labeling in Sheridan clearly indicated to us the need for understanding and recording the different ways in which ethnicity is invoked in various situations. The number of ethnic "groups" and internal divisions of these "groups" in Sheridan High School produce a situation in which the uses of ethnic labels for the identification of self and others are quite varied and the meaning of such labels, the choice of which label to use, or indeed the choice to employ such a label at all can change from one situation to another. The word "group" was enclosed in parentheses above in order to indicate that the extent to which all individuals who might be categorized with a particular term do or do not form a significant grouping for social action is precisely the question at issue and must be investigated empirically.

This chapter, then, will be devoted to an examination of the relationship of the language behavior of ethnic labelling to the reality of social action in the school. Our investigation will proceed in the following manner:

- (1) First, we will describe the procedure by which we collected a corpus of ethnic labelling utterances, complete with descriptions of the situations in which the utterances occurred, and present a list of the terms so recorded.

(2) We will then attempt a formalistic, if incomplete, analysis of the utterances in which we will analyze the distinctive features of both the referential meanings of the terms as well as of the situations in which they were uttered.

(3) We will then show that these terms constitute an ethno-semantic universe which we may call "ethnic labels" and that this universe is a unified and salient semantic domain in our field of observation, despite apparent separateness of semantic domains of the referential meanings of the actual terms employed.

(4) We will describe some aspects of the pragmatics of use of these terms and thus attempt to relate the ethno-semantic universe of ethnic labels to the model of the generation of personal networks that we presented as the conclusions to our analysis of the Days-in-the-Lives. That is, we will compare the language of our informants to our own model of social inter-action that we derived from our systematic observations, comparisons, and inductive generalizations.

(5) In conclusion, we will try to assess the general properties of the labelling system and the implications of the patterns and pragmatics of use.

Collecting the Corpus of Utterances

Having noticed the prevalence of something we called "ethnic labelling" and wishing to investigate this phenomenon more systematically, our first problem was to assemble a set of data for analysis and comparison. We began by selecting a portion of our notes and extracting from those notes all utterances which appeared to constitute ascriptions of ethnic identity by the speaker, either with reference to others or re-

flexively to the speaker him/herself. The following list is a compilation of all utterances possibly ascribing ethnicity which are contained in the field notes of three observers (Sullivan, Henry, Mavros) for the field-work period September, 1975 through March, 1976).

We have said that we collected all utterances which appeared to be ascriptions of ethnicity because our first problem of collection was that, since we were looking for labels which were significant categories to our informants, we could not judge questionable instances by our own categories. Therefore, our rule of thumb was to include all questionable cases at the beginning.

UTTERANCES

<u>Ethnic Label</u>	<u>Number of Occurrences</u>	<u>Ethnic Label</u>	<u>Number of Occurrences</u>
black	32	Chinese	26
nigger	1	Hong Kong	3
negro	6	Taiwan	2
black kid from uptown	1	White	16
colored	1	American (referring to white Americans)	3
black American	1	Italian	4
Afro-American	1	Wop	1
dudes (referring exclusively to black, non-Hispanic males	1	Jewish	5
African	2	Irish	2
half-Negro, half Puerto Rican	1	honkey	1
Hispanic	4	German	1
Latino	3	Polish	1
Spanish	5	African	1
spick	1	West Indian	2
Puerto Rican	28	Bajan	1
Puerto Rican hick	1	Indian	1
Negro Puertorriquena	1	Pakistani	1
P.R.	16	Brazilian	1
Dominican	1	non-Chinese	1
Domingo	1	non-English speaker	1
R.D.	1	alien	2
Cuban	1	Christian (specifically meaning non-Jewish)	1

Our next step was to construct a data sheet for each utterance which would contain a situational description of the circumstances in which the utterance occurred. The format of the data sheets was as follows:

DATA SHEET

I. Referential

Meaning: Color (phenotype)
 Religion
 Place of Origin
 Language
 Pejorative / Not
 Residual
 Combinatory

II. Social Meaning

Speaker: Name
 Color (phenotype)
 Place of Origin
 Language
 Religion
 Class
 Neighborhood
 Organizational Status

About Whom: Name:
 Color (phenotype)
 Place of Origin
 Language
 Religion
 Class
 Neighborhood
 Org. Status

Situation: Where
 Who Present

Circumstances: Equality/Inequality
 Formal/Informal
 Affect
 Results
 Given Meaning if any

It will be noticed that these sheets allowed space enough for narrative qualitative descriptions, which the observers filling in the sheets did find necessary, as well as asking for more precise information such as "who" and "where".

Analysis

We based our design for comparative analysis of the data on the distinction in socio-linguistics between referential and social meaning (Ervin-Tripp, 1964 ; Gumperz and Blom in Gumperz and Hymes, 1972). By referential meaning of a word is meant the denotative, dictionary meaning of words. The concept of social meaning refers to the fact that one speaker may control several words with the same referential meaning and choose one of these words according to situation, in response to social factors that are separate from the bare denotation of the word. Similarly, a given term may have different meanings according to different social contexts in which it occurs.

In order to analyze and compare the referential and social meanings of the utterances we collected from our notes, we constructed a matrix to correlate the referential semantic content of each term with the situational context of each utterance of the term. Each utterance was listed down the left-hand side of the matrix. Then, across the top of the matrix we listed first a set of exhaustive categories of referential meanings. These categories were inductively generated from the corpus of terms, by asking what different category systems these terms belonged to. Thus, the terms were found to be differentiated from each other by belonging to the following semantic domains: Color/Phenotype, Religion, Place of

Origin, Language. In addition, the terms could be differentiated from each other along the following dimensions: some are pejorative in manifest content, some are not; some are residual categories (non-Chinese) and most are not; some are combinatory categories (half Negro, Half Puerto-Rican).

We then continued across the top of the matrix with a set of categories which differentiate the situation and social context of the utterance.

These social categories referring to the situation included the following: where, who present, equality/inequality of speaker and person labeled; formal/informal, affect, results, given meaning.

Having constructed our matrix, the first question we asked was: In what sense to all of these terms belong to one ethno-semantic domain of "ethnic labels"? Do these terms stand for one system of mutually exclusive identities or are they merely isolated descriptors? Admittedly, our hypothesis was that such an ethno-semantic domain exists, and we designed our matrix in an attempt to examine just this question. In order to see what kind of answer our matrix of referential and social meaning can yield these questions, let us begin with a specific example.

Let us examine the difference between the terms "Puerto Rican" and "black". In a strictly referential sense, the two terms do not seem to be mutually exclusive. One refers to a place and the other to a color. If we turn to the day in the life of Louise Marshall, however, we find the statement, "She's not black, she's Puerto Rican," used in reference to a female student with dark skin. Though we used no formal linguistic elicitation procedure to obtain this statement, we have here an everyday utterance that clearly indicates that, in this speaker's cognitive classificatory system, these two terms are mutually exclusive. This mutual exclusivity indicates that these terms are part of a single semantic domain. Testing

this hypothesis throughout the other utterances of these terms which are listed down the left side of the matrix, we do indeed find that the term "black" is consistently used to refer to people with a wide range of skin colors, but never to a person of Hispanic heritage. Similarly, the terms "Puerto Rican", "Dominican", "latin", "latino", and "hispanic" are often used to refer to people with dark skin.

Continuing with this procedure, we then determined that terms that seem referentially to refer to language, like "chinese" and "spanish" are in fact used to refer to people both who do and who do not speak these languages. The terms which seem to have place referents like "Puerto Rican", "Dominican", and "Chinese" are sometimes used to refer to people who have never set foot in these places.

Our conclusion from following out these procedures is that there exists an ethnosemantic domain of social classification in which all of these terms are of a similar order of reality. This order of reality, in turn, can not be reduced to any of the separate referential domains of phenotype, language, color, religion, or place of origin.

Having established that this ethno-semantic domain of classification exists, let us for our purposes name this domain that of "ethnic labels" and let us hold clearly in mind that this process is a dynamic one of people identifying other people in real situations and not a closed, absolute, static system. Indeed, several of our informants may refer to this explicitly as a domain by asking such questions as "What race is he?" thereby embedding this social process in a spurious biological ideology.

These considerations next lead us to ask how this system of classification is used in practice. How consistently are these terms used to apply to

the same individuals from one situation to the next? This inquiry refers to the process that Blom and Gumperz ((bid) call "code-switching". They emphasize that the determination of social meaning is often to be found in the systematic switching of referentially equivalent terms between and among different situational contexts.

Let us illustrate with the case of the two referentially equivalent terms "latino" and "Hispanic." Both have referential meaning which imply either a language, Spanish, and/or a place of origin where that language is spoken. Looking through our matrix, however, we find that these terms are used almost exclusively by different kinds of people. All of our recorded utterances of the term "Hispanic" were spoken by adult teachers and administrators in the school. All of the uses of the term "latino" were spoken by students. The term "spanish", again with the same referential meaning, is used by both adult staff and by students. Thus, the use of one or another of these referentially equivalent terms may convey a social identification of the speaker who has chosen the term.

Speaking in broader terms than the analysis of one specific case of systematic "code-switching", we report here two kinds of "code-switching" which we have identified and which we find to have broad significance in understanding the operation of this ethno-semantic classificatory domain of "ethnic identification". The first systematic form of code-switching we refer to as the process of segmentary identification. It will be noted that, in a strictly referential sense, some of the terms in our list are sub-sets of other terms. For example, all Puerto Ricans are Hispanics, but not vice versa. By examining our matrix, we found that there is a general tendency for speakers to identify someone more

specifically, the more elements of common identity they share. Thus, a student born in New York City of parents born in Puerto Rico calls another student recently migrated from the rural areas of Puerto Rico by the term "Puerto Rican hick." A third student, however, of non-Hispanic background altogether, calls both of the first two "Puerto Ricans" indiscriminately.

Similarly, students who are phenotypically "Chinese" make many linguistic distinctions of each other in terms of what part of China they or their families originated from and, especially, according to whether or not they speak the Chinese language. Non-Chinese students, however, lump all these sub-categories as "Chinese."

The second type of systematic code-switching was more difficult to discover since it involved the question of the null set, that is, the question of whether the ethnic labels are sometimes not used at all, in a manner that indicates social meaning. Obviously, it would not be valid to present every utterance that we recorded which has no reference to the domain of ethnic identity as confirmation of the null hypothesis. If we had found no such references at all, that fact would certainly be significant, but, in fact, we found many such references. How then do we show whether or not these terms are sometimes deliberately not used? One manner of achieving this is to look for cases in which one person performs a verbal classification of this sort and another person disagrees with that entire practice.

Indeed, our list of utterances contains several such examples and, as the last piece of empirical analysis of our matrix, we wish to look at these examples in detail.

In this analysis, we will look at the utterances of two speakers, one student, and one administrator. We will examine two statements by each speaker. In the case of each speaker, one utterance applies an ethnic label to someone and another utterance denies the validity of ethnic

labeling altogether. We will call the student Nancy Travis and the administrator Bill Morgan.

Nancy Travis is a middle-class Harlem resident with dark skin. She is a senior, an honor student, and the president of both the Student Organization Executive Council and of the Black Awareness Club, of which she is also a founder. The following passage from our field notes finds Nancy and a few other students, of different ethnic groups, in the student organization office, along with a teacher/advisor, Mr. Gormley:

"The students were trying to plan an upcoming trip, but, as usual, there was a lot of horsing around. Mr. Gormley was sitting at the desk by the wall grading papers and sometimes putting in a remark. Nancy was joking a lot and digressing from the subject of the trip, but whenever a decision came up, she seemed to make it and tell the others what they would all do. At one point, they were talking about another student government group, the Senior Council. Nancy remarked, 'There is not a single black, white or Chinese person on the Senior Council.' After a pause, she continued, 'They're all Puerto Rican.'

" A few minutes later, everyone has left the office except Nancy, her friend Linda, the other founder of the Black Awareness Club, and Mr. Gormley, who was finished grading his papers). As Nancy was about to leave the office, she and Mr. Gormley were joking around and kidding each other about the way Nancy was running the SO Council. He kept accusing her of not letting anyone else make decisions. She kept smiling and saying 'Somebody has to decide.' Just as she was about to leave for her class, Mr. Gormley delivered his parting shot: 'Nancy, is it true that you used all the SO funds to order Afro-American T-shirts?' Nancy replied, 'I'm not an Afro -American, I'm just a person,' and walked off to her class. Mr. Gormley looked at me, shook his head, and chuckled."

Analysis. When talking about the Senior Council, Nancy is not reluctant to use ethnic labels. In the cross-fire of her verbal jousting with the teacher, however, she has no hesitation in switching from the use of ethnic labelling to the denial of the validity of being so labelled herself. Thus, we see that the null set, the denial of the validity of such labelling, is just as much a part of Nancy's cognitive system as are the various labels themselves. The fact that she uses the labels for others but protests being so labelled herself in a situation of verbal competition suggests that perhaps these labels are sometimes associated with situations of unequal power, and that, although these labels are often used, they are also regarded as threatening in some situations. Now let us examine a situation in which an adult performs a similar code-switch.

Bill Morgan is a white, Non-Hispanic department chairman. The utterances we will examine occurred in two separate situations:

(1) "I was talking to a new student teacher, Ellen Stearns in the cafeteria. She was complaining about Mr. Morgan, her supervisor. She said, 'The first day I came here, I went into talk to him and he kept telling about the problems of teaching black and Puerto Rican students. I finally got mad at him and said, 'I grew up around blacks and Puerto Ricans all my life, thank you, and I don't find any particular problem in dealing with them.' (Note (Ellen Stearns herself is white and non-Hispanic."

(2) "Today, I sat down with Mr. Morgan in the cafeteria. He showed me a questionnaire he had just received in the mail from Washington and asked me if I had heard about it. I told him 'no.' He showed me the inside of the questionnaire which asked for information on the ethnic mixture in each of his classes. Mr. Morgan said, 'These forms don't mean a thing. They can't tell you anything. What about Spanish kids who aren't at all Spanish?'"

Analysis. Again, we find a situation in which an individual speaker attributes ethnic labels to others in one situation and disputes the entire practice of ethnic labelling in another situation. Again, the denial occurs in a situation of unequal power, in which the speaker feels threatened. Not only Mr. Morgan, but, indeed, many of the teachers in the school were upset by the questionnaire mentioned above. Practically speaking, they had good reason to be concerned. The information collected in this manner by the Office for Civil Rights of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, was later used to impose sanctions on the personnel policies of the school system.

Conclusion

The analysis of social meaning of ethnic labelling behavior reveals that these labels are often used and accepted, in a variety of social situations. Such behavior, however, has not achieved complete legitimacy. Although many people label each other in this way, yet the option to challenge the meaningfulness of these classifications remains a lively possibility, an important part of the cognitive domain we are describing. The examples we have just examined in regard to the speech behavior of one student and one adult staff member reveal this aspect of quasi-legitimacy in everyday conversation. If we look above the level of everyday interaction to the level of policy formation, interest group politics and formal litigation, however, we find once again many disputes over the legitimacy of ethnic labelling. After the OCR sanctions against the school system's personnel policies, for example, the system began assigning minority teachers separately from non-minority teachers. That practice precipitated lawsuits from several community groups. The legitimacy of using ethnic classification in public policy is once more tied up in the courts.

To return to the analysis of the utterances we culled from our notes, we must mention that many of these utterances we judged to have been spoken in a neutral tone of voice, implying no positive or negative evaluation of the person being categorized. In a dense population where everyone does not know everyone else by name, these descriptors seem quite useful to everyone. In situations of conflict and inequality, however, these terms can easily become charged and threatening, and many people will deny the meaningfulness of these terms.

Conclusions and Recommendations

There are a number of problems associated with the presentation of research results from field studies. In large measure this results from the nature of ethnographic inquiry itself which is holistic, situational, descriptive and generally designed to provide a statement of system characteristics rather than the inevitable association of elements or variables within the system. Eventually we do produce a typology of systems, and any generalizations which can inform social action programs, professional practice or policy-decisionmaking processes are dependent on the analyst's or the practitioner's ability to identify his operational system with one of the model system types. Much of educational research has been narrowly deductive and purported to present interrelationships among elements or variables which were conceptually independent of any given situation. As a result, educational policy makers have come to expect statements of law-like regularities from research. Such statements do not emerge from ethnographic field research, and techniques and standards of application and operational utility for qualitative data are just beginning to develop. Thus, generalizing from our study of desegregation in one urban high school requires some caution. The problem is further complicated by the setting of our study. New York City has a number of unique characteristics and the overwhelming importance of ethnicity as an organizer in political, social, economic and educational systems may be idiosyncratic. Despite these caveats, however, we have attempted to present both our conclusions and the recommendations which we have derived from them in terms which can be general-

ized to high schools in general, and to urban, inner-city, polyethnic high schools in particular.

The conclusions emerge from two levels of analysis: the political and culture . historical context within which desegregation and culture contact have taken place in the community which surrounds Sheridan High School and the school context itself. Since we believe that recommendations should grow out of a clear research base, we have included most of our recommendations within the body of the report where they emerged and we recapitulate them here in association with the conclusions which lead to them.

The Political and Culture Historical Context

In the 19th century, migration for economic reasons across political boundaries created situations of massive culture contact in the emerging industrial metropolises of the eastern United States. New York City, where virtually all of the Eastern European and Mediterranean immigrants landed, became the home of many. The **organizational** problems of emergent urbanization pitted the largely Catholic immigrant masses against the earlier Protestant, more wealthy and powerful inhabitants. The conflict between these two groups was structured by the fact that it took place within a structure of private property and electoral politics. The immigrants made headway in the political sphere with the creation of machine politics. Religious identification became an important mode of organizing and mobilizing electoral power. Formal public organization on religious grounds was prohibited, however, and still is. The Catholics were not permitted to operate their own schools with public money, as they had demanded.

Many of the conflicts of these groups centered on education. During this period, education became institutionalized as the access to and legitimizer of social rank, replacing systems of personal deference which had characterized the pre-industrial mercantile era. The Protestant power elite saw the schools at every turn as the institutions which must Americanize the foreigners and fit them for their place in the new system of production, one characterized by values of efficiency, punctuality, carefully delineated lines of authority, and all the other characteristics of classic bureaucracy. The immigrants first fought back against the inculcation of what they considered to be "Protestant values" and demanded their own schools. When that failed, they took control of city government and used that power as their route of mobility. Besides the fight over the function of the schools, which they largely lost, there was also a fight between the same two groups over the control of the schools and the right to dispense the ever-increasing number of jobs involved. This fight the Tammany organization won, then lost, then won again.

Meanwhile, the unanticipated outcome of this struggle was the creation of a centralized bureaucratic interest group which was to become a power to some extent separate from either of the original contending forces. The nativist elite originally created the bureaucracy as a kind of buffer between the property-owning classes and the property-less masses who could nonetheless command an electoral majority. The municipal services complex was becoming and important economic sector, but in the public rather than private domain. The strategy of the capitalists, therefore, was to remove as much as possible the administration of public services from the control of electoral politics and replace that reform of control with a bureaucratic system several steps removed from overt political process.

In the current historical period, much of the city has been long abandoned by the property-owning classes and is now being abandoned by the middle classes. The working classes and the increasing numbers of unemployed laborers now redundant to an increasingly capital-intensive mode of production remain. The earlier immigrant populations, having gained control of certain categories of jobs, are fighting to maintain that control both against incursions from black and Hispanic arrivals and against the cutbacks imposed from above, as well as to secure status advantages for their own children. The newer arrivals, meanwhile, are learning to organize themselves politically, as their forerunners did.

In a structure with these elements, private ownership of industry, electoral politics, cultural differences between the class of owners and the mass of voters/workers, ethnic ideology emerges as a potent principle of political organization.

The fact that education has been the focus of struggles for social equality relates both to the function of education as a social ranking mechanism and also to the struggle for jobs. The municipal services industry, as a public enterprise, is more amenable to political organization than is private enterprise. Thus, the municipal services industry has always been a prime mechanism for the accommodation of newly arrived groups, even though civil service has replaced direct patronage.

From this view, the phenomenon of ethnicity appears as firmly grounded in a political context. In the ordinary, everyday realities of personal interaction, cultural differences between individuals influence their interactions but remain at the level of categorical, not group, identification. Apart from political context, ethnicity collapses into language, religion, residence, et cetera. In the political arena, however, specifically the urban political arena (in which scale may be a crucial factor as it certainly is in Sheridan High School; stereotyping, anomie, information restriction are all consequences of scale) ethnic groups can and do act collectively. Here the quasi-group emerges as a true interest group, collectively organized. This is the context within which succeeding groups of immigrants and migrants now come to Sheridan High School.

I. Conclusions About the Culture Historical Context in Which Sheridan High School Operates.

Understanding the culture historical context within which desegregation at Sheridan High school should be examined and analyzed is of major importance. Much of what is school-specific about the educational program and the structure of order at Sheridan grows out of the history of ethnic succession in New York. In the Americanization period of the Twenties and Thirties, Eastern European and Mediterranean (primarily Italian) immigrants who lived in Sheridan's attendance area were willing and, indeed, eager, to become

assimilated into American society even at the price of their own ethnic identity. The schools, as the agents of "Americanization", could be patently paternalistic and offer access to American society and eventual social and economic mobility in exchange for becoming "American". The new migrants in the area, black, Hispanic and Chinese, are both less willing to give up their ethnic identity and heritage and generally find access to social mobility less open than seems to have been true of the earlier migrants. To a major extent this is the result of the illusion of the "melting pot" and the ethnicizing of political and economic power in New York City. The ethnic factor in power politics is most dramatically seen in the composition and leadership of municipal unions in the city. The Police Department in New York has been traditionally an Irish stronghold although other ethnic groups are beginning to make inroads so that the Emerald Society (Irish) within the Department now competes with the Shalom Society (Jewish), the Columbian Society (Italian) the Steuben Society (German) and the Guardian Society (blacks). Yet the Patrolmen's Benevolent Association, the major police union, is largely controlled by Irish members and, throughout the period of this study, was always headed by an Irish-American. The same ethnic concentration is true in the Sanitation Department (Italian) and the United Federation of Teachers (Jewish) as well as in the supervisory associations in education. Today, black, Hispanic and Chinese in the attendance area of Sheridan are asking for access to power through education as did previous migrants but they do not propose to surrender their ethnic identity. One of the interesting results of this refusal is that it has led to a re-assertion of ethnicity among the previous immigrant groups and their children, once again intensifying the importance of ethnicity. One important result of all this is that minority students and teachers often see these earlier immigrant

groups as "holding on" to the power inherent in administrative positions in education and, so, blocking them from legitimate access to power.

The question of why Sheridan seems to be a particularly "bureaucratic" demonstrated and affirmed by the "Gerry" Report: In effect, this report maintains that the administrators of New York City's schools are defending their control against the incursions of more recently arrived groups. The principal of Sheridan, as is true of all New York City High Schools, is given his job by the central board and not by a locally elected decentralized board, such as the one which is responsible for the elementary and junior high schools which surround Sheridan. That local board was controlled by Ramon Garcia, a radical player of ethnic politics from the side of the newer immigrants.

Diane Ravitch's work (Ravitch, 1975), although it often fastidiously avoids political interpretation of events in an attempt to "present both sides of the conflict," amply demonstrates that urban education has been highly politicized since its inception. In fact, the schools have been the field of conflict where immigrants have first made their political power felt for a century and a half. Education, as a public enterprise, is more directly approachable through politics than through private employment or privately owned housing. In this context, it is quite possible that the politics of ethnicity are more prominent in the school arena than in others. Studies of ethnicity in construction unions, for example, could provide needed light on this question. Certainly, the rest of the New York City municipal unions, for example, (police, firemen, sanitation workers) are organized within the context of ethnic politics.

The control of jobs in the education system is of course a different question from the functions of that system in raking the students who pass through it and funnelling them into different sections of the labor market, including unemployment. It is clear that Sheridan is an institution highly concerned with ranking. A small elite, mostly white and Chinese but not exclusively, are channeled into special "prestige" curricula. Others, mostly lower-class black and Hispanic, are channeled into "remedial" and "alternative" programs, some of which may in fact be desirable alternatives for these students from a strictly educational standpoint (one of the alternative programs at least has been highly successful) but which also confer certain labels on them that limit their future possibilities. The teaching of basic English to very recent immigrants is a task which the school performs remarkably effectively, reflecting an established heritage of Americanization and the conferring of minimal skills to enter the labor market. A sizable portion of the curriculum, the business segment, seems unlikely to produce executives and more likely to provide a pool of clerical labor for the Manhattan office industry.

Michael Katz's (Katz, 1971) statement that bureaucracy in education came into being to promote the illusion of social mobility (while strictly regulating) gains some support from this study. All high schools are rule-oriented institutions. Large high schools in which social control cannot be accomplished by everyone's knowing everyone else by sight are even more rule-oriented. Among large high schools in New York City, Sheridan itself is particularly rule-oriented. The security system and the control over teachers and students accomplished by means of the strict insistence upon the Developmental Lesson Plan format are the rule systems in point.

Formal rules are the essence of bureaucracy and, in Weber's conception, they provide democracy, fairness and efficiency in comparison with traditional or charismatic types of authority (Blau and Meyer, 1956). Yet rules can be enforced for some and overlooked for others, thus perpetuating relations of power that exist outside those rules. The proliferation of and emphasis on rules works to the advantage of those in the position to formulate and enforce them. In this sense, Sheridan well demonstrates Katz's contention that bureaucracies do not come into being neutrally, as a mere necessary concomitant of urbanization and the increasing density of population. They come into being as agencies of social control and they represent an alternative rather than a complement to electoral local control.

Yet, as Ravitch demonstrates, the creation of bureaucracies also has unintended consequences. She stresses that huge bureaucracies may be created to keep power at a distance from one group only to evolve into powerful interest groups themselves, separate from either of the original contending groups. The potency of the UET political machinery under decentralization was not anticipated by those who constructed that legislation. We contend in addition that the very insistence on rules and the inculcation of legalism can also backfire on groups using this strategy. The Gerry report and the other pressures from above with which New York City school politicians must constantly contend are the cases in point here. A considerable body of largely untried Civil Rights law now exists at the Federal, State and local levels. Members of groups now out of power are learning to manipulate this law, usually above the local level, and those in power locally are caught in the middle. For those out of power and kept out of power by the manipulation of rules from above, there exist two

possible strategies. One is to break and ignore the rules. This is what many Sheridan students do when they cut class and appropriate for themselves the school's facilities in a clandestine manner. That was also an important component of the strategy of both pro- and anti-integration groups in the 1960's during various strikes, boycotts, and demonstrations. The other strategy is to accept legalism and to try to manipulate it to one's own advantage. This strategy seems more characteristic of the 1970's, a period when the conflicts of the 1960's have become institutionalized. Ethnic politics in the city seem certain to continue to dominate both the management of the schools and the processes of affiliation among students. Desegregation in this context may well mean the manipulation of political power in the community as much if not more than any school specific changes.

In this context, we also repeat our conclusions from the study of the administration of the school:

1. The school is formed through a network of funding sources and regulations. Through these one can see how the school is tied to and controlled by the outside bureaucracy: the Board of Education, the State and Federal government, the teachers union and other interested agencies.
2. The role of programming should not be underestimated. The program can be very revealing of the processing of students, the status of certain individuals or subject areas, current funding trends, and changes in regulations.
3. Discretionary power can be determined by examining the areas of latitude in the bureaucracy: bureaucratic processing, curriculum, evaluation, and in territory. Through these channels one would find rule making and rule breaking to exist and to be exercised.

4. Often it seems that the specific educational goals as well as achieving them are accommodated to available funding trends. This is true in part because the school has little leeway in funding all the goals it sees fit, therefore tailoring its goals to those which are currently "fund-able".

The school system itself seems to adjust the curriculum to follow or to accommodate current social trends. It is no surprise that value education classes for faculty as well as students followed shortly after Watergate. Other curricular trends are in response to federal pressure: increased attention to special education for the handicapped, nondiscriminatory treatment of students (either racial or sex) and increased attention to affirmative action in placement of students in curricular tracks.

5. The informal organization has a distinct purpose. Unlike the academic debate over its possible interference with the formal organization, we found the formal organization to be just one other organizational characteristic. The inter-relatedness of the school's organizational characteristics, relative to the individual goals can help illuminate and explain seemingly biased political behavior. The need for efficiency, the pressing need of many school and student specific problems lead to coping mechanisms as illustrated previously: sorting, (stereotyping) territoriality, rule making and rule breaking and a heavy reliance on social networks.

Recommendations:

1. Where there are major population changes in the community which in turn lead to new school populations, school systems should provide programs and opportunities for adaptive learning. Where the population shift also involves new language patterns or cultural patterns which are divergent from

those which are traditional at the school, the need for planning adaptive programs is even greater.

2. Schools and school systems must be aware of the social organization of their communities since ethnic sorting in polyethnic high schools is a result of the social organization of the community which is brought to the school by the students.

3. Schools and school systems should attend to patterns of ethnicity in the faculty as well as among students and should be aware of changing patterns. Student population changes more rapidly than other segments of the community since older people are usually the last to outmigrate. At the same time, school personnel policy which is based on a last-hired-first-fired policy usually leads to the excessing of minority teachers.

4. The use of policy terms such as desegregation for research presents a number of problems because it is cognitive in its descriptiveness. In addition, since it is a policy process, it necessarily intersects with other policy problems and so does not have a context of its own with which it can be examined. Thus, we recommend the concept of culture contact as the conceptual model within which desegregation should be studied.

5. Studying "out" into the community and "up" into the central administration and to state and federal levels of policy is essential to understanding the context within which culture contact and desegregation take place. In our case, following local policy alternatives up to the federal level where they were created provided a dramatically different picture of the meaning and background of local practices related to desegregation.

II. Conclusions About Culture Contact and Desegregation in Sheridan High School

The confusion we seem to be experiencing in describing, defining, explaining, and correcting the wide range of problems we see as disrupting schools seems to stem from our inability to separate analytically what is "school" and what is "society." This is, of course, not a new problem, nor is it restricted to questions of how to deal with segregation and desegregation. But what seems most crucial here is that failing to distinguish between what is school-specific about culture contact and what is simply reflective of what is happening in the streets means that we will probably also look to explanations and remediation in what we think we know about society rather than in what we think we know about schools. As a result, we are likely to view culture contact through the same personal ideologies and institutional perspectives which have failed to do away with inequality in the general society.

As a major outcome of this study (supplemented by comparative data from other high schools we have studied) we have constructed a model of the social organization (those patterns of behavior through which people relate) of the high school which we believe allows examination of the school-specific factors involved in culture contact and desegregation. Our model assumes that the high school's major functions are organized into four major structural domains. Each of these structures organizes a distinctive area of enculturation and socialization which, following Herskovits, we see as different processes (Herskovits, 1948; pp. 326-327). Learning and adaptation take place through both enculturation and socialization, but the source of what is learned, and the learning process, differs in each. We prefer to use the concept of enculturation to describe the process of cultural conditioning

through which individuals are expected to learn socially standardized responses to cultural stimuli. Essentially, it is a one-way process of cultural transmission through which the school attempts to fulfill its role of producing culturally competent individuals. Socialization, on the other hand, we see as transactional and as describing the process by which the individual -- adult as well as child -- is integrated into the social organization of the specific school/community under examination.

Conclusions Regarding Ethnicity, Enculturation and Desegregation

The following conclusions about the meaning for desegregation as related to the process of ethnic identification in Sheridan emerge from our study.

1) The ascription of ethnicity is a common action. Students use ethnic identifications to choose new friends inside the school and to define informal territorial boundaries inside and in the immediate vicinity of the school. Teachers and administrators manipulate the process of ethnic identification in their political struggles over the dispensation of jobs and over the control of the local school site. The social relations of the security guards result from the structural tension both of their ill-defined bureaucratic position (they are staff members but not directly responsible to teachers and administrators) and from the fact that they are employees, not students; yet they are co-ethnics with the students.

2) Despite the thesis that an ethnic universe exists, it must be asserted simultaneously that the process of ethnic identification is an open, fluid one. A large variety of labels exists and actors are free to "lump" and "split" from one situation to another. The option of emphasizing or deemphasizing ethnicity also exists. (Vincent, 1968). Further, the ascription of ethnicity can serve both as a basis for exclusionary group formation and as a basis for inter-ethnic association, as in the case of the Student Organization Council, the drama club, and the Peer Group (Barth, 1969).

3) We also found that ethnic identification proceeds in a segmentary fashion. That is, the more elements of common identity that two individuals in Sheridan share, the more they split in their identifications of each other. The fewer elements they share, the more they lump. Thus, Dominicans distinguish

themselves from Puerto Ricans, but they are lumped as "Hispanics" by teachers and by some census forms. Chinese split each other according to the categories juk-sin and juk-ka (referring to whether they speak Chinese or not) but non-Chinese lump them as "Chinese". This segmentary hypothesis was derived from and is perhaps most applicable to our observations of patterns of physical confrontation, particularly in the student cafeteria. There we found that black, Hispanics, and Chinese (there are few white students in the cafeteria) cooperated in action sets when fights broke out, either in attack, defense or flight. Fights within one of the four general categories (e.g. Puerto Ricans v. Dominicans; individuals over card games) did not involve others outside that category. The relevance of the segmentary hypothesis in situations other than those of conflict and physical confrontation requires further investigation.

4) Two qualifications can already be added to the hypothesis at this point. The first derives from the observation that fist fights between individual black and Hispanic students do not necessarily mobilize the support of others enlisting as co-ethnics; although in some situations this has occurred. This phenomenon could not be predicted by a hypothesis which considers only elements of common cultural identity. Thus, we are led to seek out the structural arrangements in which these cultural identifications are embedded. On the level of city-wide school politics, blacks and Hispanics, although often working through separate community organizations, have consolidated their interests in opposition to those of the predominantly white and Jewish members of the UFT and the Board of Education. This city-wide structural alliance of newer immigrant groups (not counting the Chinese, who are a specialized case of immigration and who are also residentially concentrated and occupationally specialized in lower

Manhattan) is reflected in the associations of Sheridan students, for example in the girls' dance groups and in the boys' refusal to form ethnic alignments in cases of fights between individual blacks and Hispanics.

There also exists a structural alliance within the school between the largely white and Jewish administration and faculty and the Chinese students. This structural alliance is quite different from that of the blacks and Hispanics. First, since the Chinese are concentrated in this neighborhood and school, this is not a city-wide set of arrangements. Next, the alliance between the Jews and Chinese does not exist at the level of interpersonal association in the context of informal social relations, but it exists purely within the formal organization structure. The Chinese follow the rules and do their lessons and attend very regularly and are accorded preferential treatment and given relative amounts of power and autonomy in return. Their interpersonal associations, however, are more closed to non-Chinese than those of any other category.

The second qualification derives from our observation that far more fights occur within the cafeteria and the school building than on the streets outside, even though both the cafeteria and the street are organized into ethnic turfs, with some small areas appropriate for inter-ethnic groupings. This fact suggests that the school organization itself provokes ethnic separation and conflict. When one considers the processes by which the security system of the school as well as the curriculum differentiations separate and classify students for differential treatment in ways that correspond to ethnic groupings (whether intentionally on the part of the school personnel, or impersonally by psychometric testing) the notion that the school organization itself accentuates ethnic divisions is reinforced.

Social class does seem to correlate highly with academic success. Middle class members are the best students regardless of ethnicity. Again, however, we are confounded in any simple correlation of class and success by the differential school success of lower-class Chinese and lower-class blacks and Hispanics. Among our eight school students, we may observe that Cindy Ng maintains a much more mutually productive relationship with the school than Louise Marshall, Carmen Nieves, Hutch, or Josie. Thus, neither class nor ethnicity, so difficult to separate even conceptually, is sufficient to explain differences in school performance.

In order to resolve this dilemma, we must differentiate between structural and cultural assimilation. The Chinese students in Sheridan are more structurally than culturally assimilated with regard to the predominantly white and Jewish faculty and administration. Blacks have far less cultural distance from the adult staff than the Chinese. They share native English speech, citizenship, and political socialization. The two groups are, however, placed in structural opposition at this historical juncture, especially in the aftermath of the 1968 teachers' strike and the dispute over community control. Hispanics have been structurally allied with blacks since that same strike, although the interests of these two groups are also now diverging as Hispanic political organization begins to emerge. Hispanics are also separated culturally from the adult staff by speech and by their circular migration to and from the Caribbean. Dominicans are non-citizens, more politicized than Puerto Ricans, and consequently even farther in social distance from the staff.

Structural assimilation appears to be the most important criterion for academic success. Close personal friendship across ethnic boundaries does not seem to be necessary for academic success. The ability to deal with members of other groups in instrumental transactions, however, is highly necessary for success. The Chinese students and the white, mostly Jewish teachers of Sheridan have different cultural backgrounds. Their assumptions about schooling, however, are similar enough to permit a workable functional alliance even across a great gulf of social distance.

Middle class students of any ethnicity are also more likely to share with the staff certain assumptions about schooling. Lower class black and Hispanic students, however, do not share such assumptions. They expect little from the school and the school expects little from them. They have the poorest academic records, encounter more disciplinary sanctions, and participate least in extra-curricular activities.

Recommendations

6. While we found that ethnic divisions are brought into the school from the community, there is abundant evidence that the school organization accentuates and reinforces ethnic separation. One change in school organization which could reduce this would be to reduce school size by having smaller schools, creating small modules in each school or increasing the use of individualized instruction.

7. In polyethnic high schools, particularly when there is high residential mobility, the possibility of dissonance between the teaching style of the school and the culturally structured learning style of students is considerable.

Here it is important to be aware of these differences in learning style and to prepare teachers and administrators to develop adaptive strategies.

8. Desegregation has variously been oriented towards equal access to education or "open door" policies. We found that equal access does not mean equal access to resources. It is this latter sense of equity which should define governmental policy and school response.

The School Context

The process of sorting at Sheridan is clearly based on ethnicity. Thus, in our earlier studies where we found that community of origin in the rural high school we observed that in that case, the characteristics of sorting were established outside the school and carried into it. That is to say, a student from "Apple Valley" was sorted as "a student with good learning potential" because, in the experience of the school personnel, students from Apple Valley were generally good students. Over time, the initial sorting might be adjusted, but the initial labelling set a tone for the student's entry into the school. In the suburban school, on the other hand, where the town of "Sheffield" was monolithic in its homogeneity by ethnicity and social class not just among the students but with the school staff as well, sorting ("Jocks and Freaks") was clearly established within the school itself with little other than kinship experience on the part of the school to import from the community. In Sheridan, in what we have described earlier as ethnic enclave neighborhoods, ethnicity is not only established outside the school and brought into the building as the basis for sorting, it becomes internalized on the part of the students even before they enter the school. Because of the ethnic characteristics of the feeder schools, students entering Sheridan usually will have accepted a

degree of self-sorting along ethnic lines by the time they reach Sheridan. This self-sorting, born in their neighborhoods of origin and nurtured in the neighborhood, community school board controlled elementary and intermediate schools they attended, will have an internalized imago which serves as the basis for affiliation among the students in Sheridan High School. It is also these emic, cognitive linguistic labels which establish the important social boundaries among students. Certainly the school reinforces these classificatory boundaries through its programming of students into various curricular programs, but the essential point for the desegregation process is that it is the student and not the school which establishes the primary level of group affiliation and the social boundaries among students. Certainly this is true at Sheridan and in other New York City schools we have seen. Its saliency elsewhere is dependent upon the territoriality of ethnicity in communities and the relationship between that territoriality and school assignment of students.

There are a number of territorial aspects to desegregation and to the process of culture contact in schools. The division of the school from the "outside world" is, in itself, a primary territorial demarcation and a number of others follow from and within it. As we have seen, the ethnic "turfs" immediately outside the school are determined by neighborhood of origin and serve almost as staging areas for students in the transition from community to school and from the school outward to the community. Within the school itself, sorting is reinforced by territorial division over time and space which results from the very size of the school and the inability of students to identify with the larger institutional setting of Sheridan. As a result there are the obvious ethnically controlled spaces such as particular stairwells and even floors within

the school. Once again, while the primary sorting is done by the students themselves in terms of the ethnic self-labelling and social boundary setting, the school reinforces the social boundary setting by its programs which further isolates students into ethnically determined life space in the school. While most of the teachers and administrators at Sheridan would maintain with conviction that academic streaming or tracking does not consciously take place there, the net effect of programming students into sequences of courses and events on the basis of perceived ability is to reinforce the ethnic pattern of sorting.

Status in the School Organization

A student's individual path through a day at Sheridan is a primary determinant of his or her possibilities for informal friendship ties. The school's size and complexity and the stratification of its curriculum are the two factors which most influence a student's informal associations. The size and complexity of the school most often serve to fragment the associations that are brought into the school from the neighborhood. Students are often not able to see their best friends because their programs diverge. Much of the high rate of class-cutting that constitutes one of the school's major organizational problems is attributable to this fact. The days of Mike Edwards, Hutch, and Carmen Nieves all demonstrate that students cut class in order to be with their friends who are in close physical proximity but separated by their schedules. This pattern is repeated throughout our field notes. One of the great curiosities of Sheridan is the fact that students will come to school day after day and yet miss their classes. Instead they congregate on the immediate outside periphery of the school, in stairs, hallways, the cafeteria, and even in the administrative offices under the very noses of adult staff.

They don't like classes, but they love school for the opportunity it gives them to congregate with their age peers. Only a small percentage of them manage to structure their informal associations within the extra-curricular activities that the school provides and legitimates such as the student clubs, teams, and activities. Other students make clandestine appropriations of whatever unsupervised space and time they can find.

The stratification of the curriculum to some extent cuts against the fragmentation which results from size and complexity. The complexly divided curriculum with its many special programs tends to reinforce class and ethnicity. Recent immigrants are funneled into the ESL, bilingual, and other language classes. White and Chinese students are disproportionately concentrated in college preparatory classes and programs. Black and Hispanic students are disproportionately concentrated in "slow learner" and business classes. Even when two students who are of similar background and who are already friends are placed in the same segments of the curriculum, however, they are still likely to be separated by their programs, since there are several sections of each class. Thus, the curriculum tends to fragment neighborhood ties even though it also reinforces class and ethnicity divisions. This fact is partly responsible for the phenomenon of ethnicity as a recruitment factor inside the school. A student finds him/herself in a classroom with other students he does not already know. Some of these other students are of similar background and some are not. Those with common elements of identity are likely to strike up new relationships. Mike Edwards and Louise Marshall both report such situations. We have also seen examples of this situation for white, Hispanic and Chinese students.

In summary, the personal networks of Sheridan students are recruited from five major sources, none of which is empirically independent of the other four. These five sources are:

- 1) neighborhood of residence
- 2) ethnicity
- 3) social class
- 4) status in the school organization
- 5) activities of special interest and instrumental transactions
generally

These affiliations and movements in time and space maintain the socio-cultural effects of segregation despite the obvious numerical mixture of students from a wide variety of ethnic identities. Students at Sheridan do cross ethnic boundaries in forming friendships and do violate territorial integrity established along ethnic lines but not as a result of conscious efforts in the part of the school or any other special institution. What leads to cross-ethnic affiliation is some event, cause, activity, or "equalizer". Throughout the days in the lives of students and teachers we described there are events such as school disruptions or student activities which result in cross-ethnic affiliation characterized by either conflict or cooperation. Causes and activities seem to operate in the same fashion. Equalizers are those common interests -- drugs and drug use are the most salient examples -- which cut across ethnic boundaries and so bind individuals into networks or action sets based upon some common interest which supercedes ethnicity. Movement over time and space is, we believe, a more "naturalistic" area for observation than we found to be true of sorting because it is outside

the actor's cognitive system and can be charted from direct observation. Yet both provide evidence of how the school refracts the ethnic boundaries established in communities.

Finally, there is the system of rules and conventions which regulate and regularize behavior and social relationships within the school. Sorting and territoriality are interrelated with rules. Not only are there new sorting categories which emerge within the school boundaries, we also see that territory is a symbolic demarcation in a structural system which distributes power. Violations of formal rules may result from individuals' competing for power within the system, as when students of different ethnic groups compete for territorial control or they may challenge the order of the system itself as when students violate a teacher's control over the territory of the classroom. We have seen that the imposition of the formal rules of the school is dependent on sorting and on territoriality as well. Rules are differentially enforced according to ethnicity. Black students, for example, who are considered potentially violent, are sometimes ignored when they violate rules. Student restrooms are considered student territory and are relatively free from adult supervision. These variations in rule enforcement are negotiated on a day-by-day basis. The social organization of Sheridan High School seems to be set up around the demarcation of identity and power. This reinforces the tendency to spend a great deal of time, effort and power enforcing boundaries which are, in this school, either generational (adult-student) or based on ethnicity. Since there is a limited amount of power and autonomy in the school, much of the boundary maintenance is symbolic. That is, since it is not possible to successfully enforce rules in such a large school, emphasis falls on occasional enforcement and broad parameters for most rules. From this perspective, sorting, territoriality

and the making and breaking of rules are identifying procedures which mediate between the formal structures and informal systems. While the formal structure of the school can be adjusted through desegregation, the informal social systems of the school wherein culture contact occurs, are not responsive to such adjustment and continue to reflect ethnic identities and affiliations in the community. Thus, questions of racial balance among students and staff and of co-ethnicity between them tell us little about the sociocultural context within which education takes place. The formal organizational model which results in the rationally planned hierarchically directed programming of students for careful scheduling and movement -- the gesellschaft of the school, to use Tonnies's term -- fails to provide a framework for measuring or monitoring much more than the identification and enumeration of the individuals involved and the ordering or sequence of events. It is the gemeinschaft character of social relations in the school that provides the true measure of desegregation of attitudes and behaviors among the participants in the school. Viewing desegregation or culture contact within the context of the social action of schooling is not, however, an easy task. There are boundary problems between the school and the family, the school and the community, and the school and an increasing number of educating systems such as the media, which make it difficult to say where schooling in the formal sense begins and ends. Even if this problem is dealt with, there is an additional one inherent in how researchers have traditionally looked at schools. Most studies of schools have focused on individuals as learners without much attention to the social organization of learning and how such educating systems intersect with the formal organization of the school. What research has been done on schools as organizations has

come largely from a concern with administration and management and intersects with the literature on industrial and governmental organization. Consequently, while we know something about how children behave as learners and are beginning to get some ideas about how adults organize and manage schools as places to work, we know very little about how schools are organized as social systems. We know even less about the types of social controls which govern the relationships among the school's children, its adults, and its learning and socialization structures and about how they function to promote or hinder learning and regulate the socialization process. It is here that the answers to such questions as (1) the role that schools themselves play in producing, aggravating, or reducing racial and ethnic tensions; (2) how the schools mediate between students and poverty,, employment, family, the media, and other extra-school areas of culture contact, and (3) the ultimate question of whether and how changes in the organization of schools and how they relate to students can remedy the problems we identify with segregation and desegregation.

Recommendations

9. Desegregation, as a subset of culture contact, operates at a sociocultural level within schools and their communities and understanding the process requires systematic study at the interface level of person-to-person and group-to-group contact.

10. Policy development in the area of educational equity demands school-specific awareness of the value conflicts inherent in attempts at government-

sponsored or sanctioned social action programs. In the case of desegregation specifically, conflicts over equality versus quality and cultural pluralism versus standardization of learning techniques and outcomes are examples of such conflicts.

11. Ethnographic research is a modality well suited to the study of the policy process since it not only allows for description and analysis of on-site implementation of policy decisionmaking; it also permits examination of the value structure within which policy is developed.

12. The social organization model offers not only a context through which to look at school-specific culture contact, it also offers practitioners a model for adaptive change in fostering positive culture contact. Such adjustments can be made in the sorting, territoriality and rule-making and rule breaking domains but can also be developed through mediation of the cross-peer group and peer group structures.

The conclusions emerge from the model of the social organization of the high school which we have developed from this study and from prior experience in the comparative study of rural, suburban and inner-city high schools. By applying our conclusions to this model, we believe that generalizability is increased. Also, since we believe that recommendations should grow out of a clear research base, we have included our recommendations within the body of the report where they emerged and recapitulate them here where they are pertinent to our conclusions.

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